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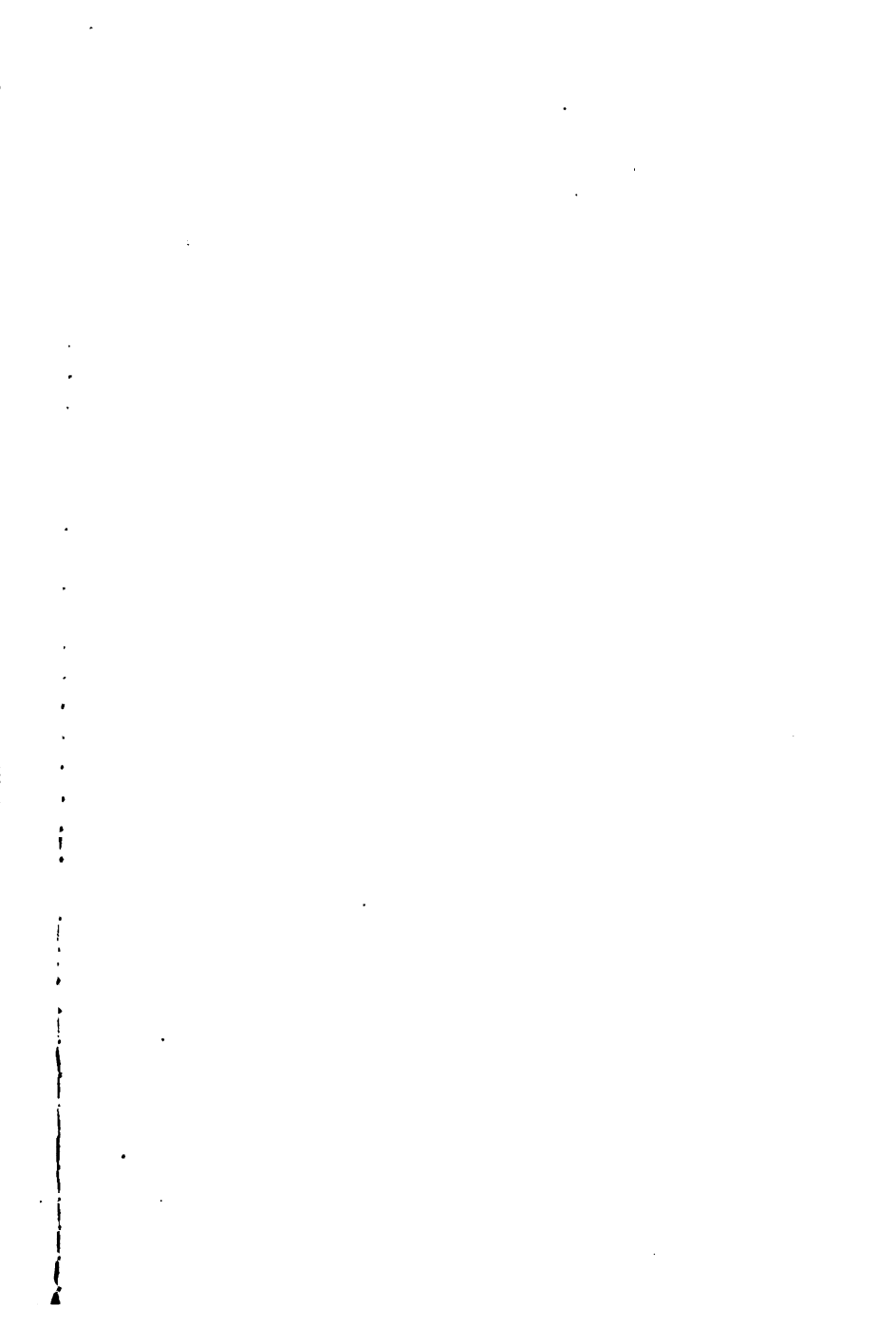
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YOUTH, SCHOOL, AND VOCATION

BY

MEYER BLOOMFIELD

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION

By **HENRY SUZZALLO, Ph.D.**

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of
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To
MRS. PAULINE AGASSIZ SHAW



CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION. BY HENRY SUZZALLO	vii
I. THE CHOICE OF A LIFE-WORK AND ITS DIFFI- CULTIES	1
II. THE WASTEFUL START AND INEFFICIENCY	9
III. EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE	27
IV. THE ORGANIZATION OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE	50 ✓
V. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN GERMANY	95
VI. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND	109
VII. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE AND HEALTH GUIDANCE	148
VIII. THE SCHOOL AND THE START IN LIFE	158
IX. THE SOCIAL GAIN THROUGH VOCATIONAL GUID- ANCE	171
SUGGESTIVE MATERIAL	177
BIBLIOGRAPHY	262
OUTLINE	268 //
INDEX	272 //

INTRODUCTION

It is very doubtful if one can really appreciate the present movement for the vocational guidance of youth, unless he understands its connection with the persistent social philosophy of the American people, and perceives it to be, what in fact it is, another stage in the effort to equalize opportunity for the children of our Commonwealth and to perfect our social efficiency.

In a sense the school has always aided a few of its students to find their occupations in the world. The function was crudely though certainly exercised through the selective standards of traditional school life. These selective standards favored those of station and intellect to enter professional life. The whole system of schooling from the primary school through the college was pre-professional. The old-time teacher gave little thought to those who did not register at the school — those who were not prosperous enough to take the leisure and pay the rate, those who were not interested in languages and books and abstract thoughts, those who were so handicapped in body and mind that conventional schooling promised little. Nor was the master greatly concerned about those who made slow pace at school. These were not "smart." What more could the teacher do for them! It was as

well they went to work. It was different with the prize scholars of the school. Let one of these feel the restlessness to go to work, and the teacher made a pilgrimage to the home to enlist the parents' aid to keep the boy in school. The school's selection, instruction, and protection, whether exercised consciously or unconsciously, favored the talented few. These reached the end of the college course to find themselves at the threshold of professional life, whither they had been guided from the beginning.

There are marked difficulties with this restricted service of the schools. The educational system sends into professional life more persons than are required. It gives little or no attention to the education and distribution of men among the very necessary and very numerous non-professional occupations. In consequence the professions suffer from overcrowding and from a type of economic competition that interferes with the idealism of professional service. But the other occupations fare worse, for they suffer from that all-around incompetency which follows the complete want of an appropriate choosing and training of men for tasks. Into the ranks of industry, agriculture, commerce, and personal service enter the men and women whose school experience has directly or subtly convinced them that they are partial or total intellectual failures, for the traditional school has unjustly measured the mental competencies of every type of youth by its high but narrow standards of pre-professional

training. Somewhat dispirited, these find their occupations by chance, and with the feeling that they are to labor at something which is second best.

The schools have a large contribution to make to individual happiness and to social efficiency, by assuming the task of aiding all who come under its care to make a successful transit from the period of education to that of responsible workmanship in the world. The mere fact that all occupations, rather than a few, become a matter of school concern will do much to make every type of service seem worthy to him who enters it. It will be an antidote to vocational snobbishness which our society can well afford to administer. In a sense, the consciousness of dignified and respectable labor, is fundamental. Without it the highest type of specialized skill cannot be acquired or sustained. Under any thoroughly democratic regard for varied needs and divergent abilities, the school will cease to touch the majority of its children with the hand of discouragement, for the contact with the world's use of every quality of mind will broaden its own standards and rid it of the tendency to underestimate what the many have to offer. It is this fair dealing with all kinds of work and talent that the new democratic spirit in education invokes.

The movement for the vocational guidance of youth is then one of our efforts to make our school system reflect the idealism of our people. But its significance goes far beyond what it would tender to individuals.

Viewed from the social end, it gathers a sanction from the stern and obvious dictates of industrial and political necessity. Does not industry complain of the hampering of the incompetents? Already they become a handicap in the competition for a world market. And does not the state, reflecting the tender mercy of the social mind, turn its back on all hard law that would let the incompetent starve and tax its citizens increasingly for public charity? It is a safer and happier state that puts its money into competency, self-reliance, and the joy of continuous workmanship rather than into charity for those whose defective training and placement in life make them unemployable. In the light of what a sound school policy might accomplish, is not the charity we give, with so much sense of virtue, merely a fine paid for guilt in sinning against social foresight?

A program for vocational care may well frighten the timid schoolmaster who is hard and fast in the clutch of his craft-habit of teaching from a book and shutting his eyes to the consequences. The sturdier sort, made sensitive by the tragic tales of educational statisticians and social investigators, will welcome the new meaning which the program brings to school service. Such a one will not hesitate to begin some special care of the multitudes who leave school early and fumble long in the world for a task they have not been trained to perform. It is to aid those who have come into a sense of the full social duty of the school that

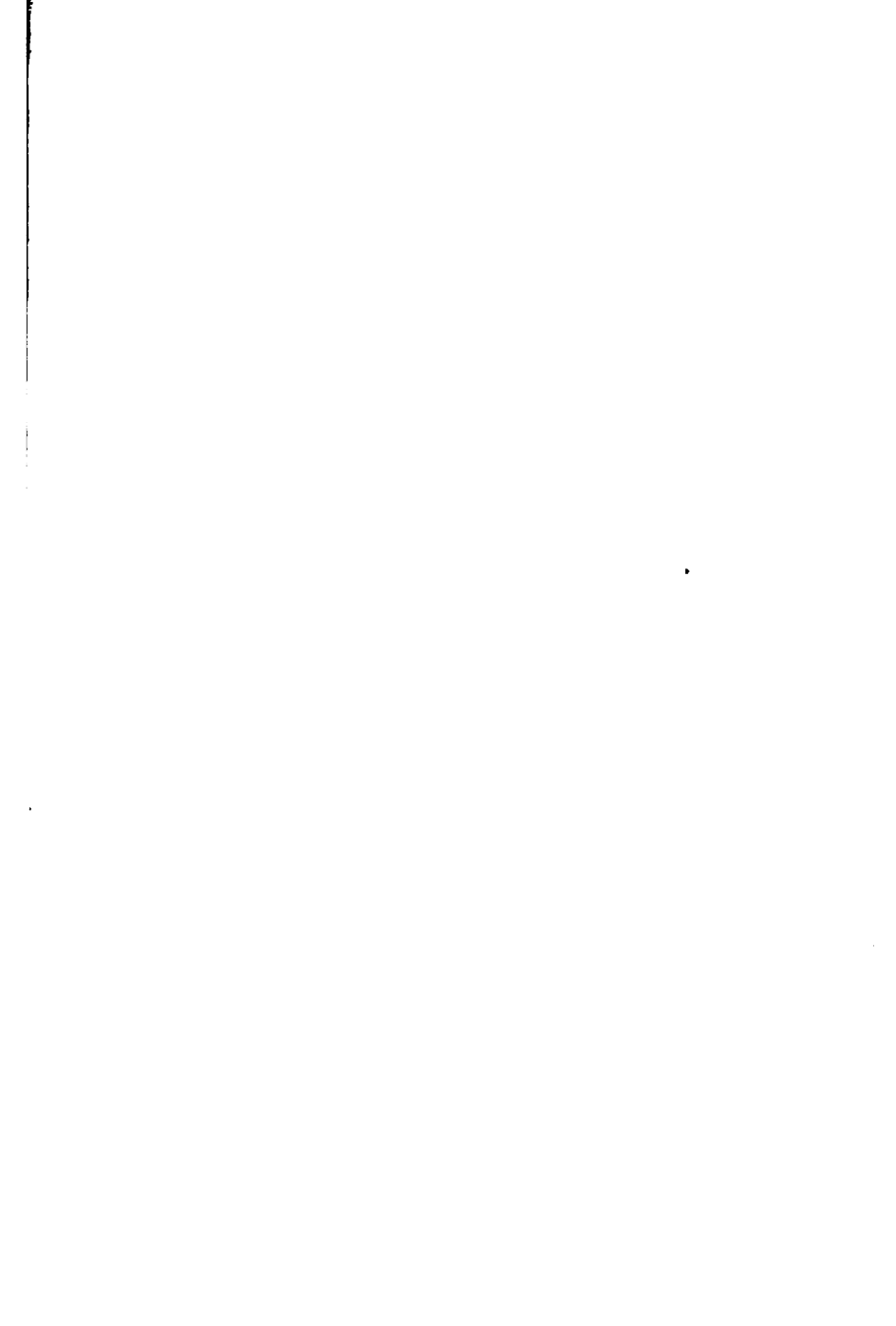
this volume is presented. The book will help to overthrow that conception of school function which stresses the watchful selection of the few and the forgetful elimination of the many. It will substitute the new idea that the school is a distributive institution which aims to find for each his effective place in work and citizenship. It will give counsel as to modes of procedure with constant reference to the experiences of successful achievement. That the volume has been written by one who has himself had a large part in the preliminary experiments will add to the worth of everything said.

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May, 1915.

YOUTH, SCHOOL, AND VOCATION





YOUTH, SCHOOL, AND VOCATION

I

THE CHOICE OF A LIFE-WORK AND ITS DIFFICULTIES

"He therefore sometimes took me to walk with him," writes Benjamin Franklin of his father, "and see joiners, bricklayers, turners, braziers, etc., at their work, that he might observe my inclination, and endeavor to fix it on some trade or other on land."

The busy age we live in does not seem so favorable for the kindly offices of youth's natural advisers. While many a parent, teacher, or friend spends energy and sympathy to give some girl or boy vocational suggestion and help, the fact is clear enough that a vast majority of the young people in our land enter upon their careers as bread-winners in the trades and professions unguided and unprepared. Chance is usually given the upper hand to make or mar the most critical period of working life.

At no other time in history have the sons and daughters of the people been turned out on so large a scale to earn their living, and into so complicated a social order; never before have fourteen-year-old children been so free to settle, largely by themselves, some of the big-

gest problems in life; and never has there been so great a need as now for wise coöperation of home and school with the young beginners in the work of the world.

Young Franklin on a brief visit to the shop or foundry could probably have seen a whole trade in process. To-day this could scarcely be. Minute division of labor, specialization to a degree which leaves the average worker in ignorance of the steps which go before or follow his own partial operations, do not encourage the same personal view of industry. Commerce and the liberal professions are hardly less detailed and hardly less in the hands of specialists. Spinning, weaving, and the making of a coat, the manufacture of nails, watches, and shoes involve scores of operations. Likewise the management of a modern store, an office, or a factory calls for qualities peculiar to a highly developed age of applied science. A new profession has arisen in the efficiency engineer, whose business it is to study the costly results of overlooked waste and extravagance in our large-scale production and distribution of goods. Big establishments are working out personal data sheets in order to measure more scientifically the value of their employees. One specialty store in Boston has developed a system of personal records which lessens guesswork in the employment and promotion of its two thousand or more people.

We are living in the midst of a restless period, which is impatient with crudeness, and too preoccupied to pause over the stumblings and gropings of its bewil-

dered youth. Into this arena of tense effort, the schools of our country pour their annual thousands. We trust that somehow the tide of opportunity may carry them to some safe vocational destination. Only the relatively few who reach the higher training institutions can be said to have their problems at least partially solved during the critical period of adolescence. What becomes of that young multitude sent out to cope with the strange conditions of self-support? Whose business is it to follow up the consequences of this transition from school to work? Whose business is it to audit our social accounts, and discover how far our costly enterprises in education, the pain, the thought, the skill, and the sacrifice we put forth with the growing generation, are well- or ill-invested in the field of occupation?

These are vital questions, and perhaps the most vital is how far the work and careers our children turn to are the result of informed choice, of accident, or of necessity. The higher training schools are as profoundly concerned in this problem as are the elementary schools. The well-to-do are no less affected than are the poor. Until society faces the problem of the life-careers of its youth, the present vocational anarchy will continue to beset young work-seekers. Wasting their golden years, they discover, oftentimes too late, how much even a helpful suggestion at the critical moment might have shaped their futures. They become unhappy, indifferent, and discouraged; and hence the pitiful letters written to those who care

4 YOUTH, SCHOOL, AND VOCATION

about these problems, from men and women who realize too late the reason for their futility as workers.

Society has been slow to recognize the need of co-operating with its future workers in the choice of their careers. It has not realized that successful choice of life-work is impossible to the unadvised and the unprepared. Common sense tells us that intelligent selection of a life-work is the result of intelligent forethought and preparation. We cannot expect youth to find itself vocationally without furnishing it continuously with the material and incentives for thoughtful selection. In other words, there can really be no one detached day or provision for considering life-career problems; but rather is our entire scheme of education and employment essentially a process, good or bad, of vocational guidance.

Now real selection is impossible where the world of occupation is a dark continent. Choice, like play, is usually the product of many influences, not the least of which are suggestion and example. The children of a neglected neighborhood mimic the drunken woman arrested by the policeman, while those of the well-supervised city playground have opened to them a world of wholesome activities. A city kindergarten teacher, spending her vacation in a Nova Scotia fishing hamlet, gathered about her one day a group of the fishermen's children. She tried them at the game of "Trades." They could go through the motions only of netmaking, hauling-in of fish, and the simple house-

hold crafts of spinning, carding, and weaving which they had seen their mothers and grandmothers engage in. The mimicry of the urban workers, like the plumber, engineer, the merchant, and the newsboy, was altogether meaningless to these children.

The young people of a crowded district play ambulance driver, fireman, the street-cleaner, and the actor of cheap melodrama; but when they are older, and the sense of adventure is less keen in their impulse for vocational expression, one finds how much local social ambitions count. The neighborhood doctor who drives about in a shiny buggy, or in a motor-car with red-cross devices; the lawyer with his nonchalance in the dread police court of the district; the dentist with his gilt signs across a private dwelling in the tenement quarter, carrying proudly the title of doctor; and the druggist — that master of confections and magic drugs — such persons figure heavily in the family judgment at the infrequent vocational conferences of the tenement home. To be sure, there are examples of the school-teacher, the civil engineer, and the man "on the road"; their rise from an unfavorable environment flashes a vocational hint to the neighborhood; but this is feeble as against the potency of social esteem, which is bestowed on local personages in the more familiar professions.

It is in our centers of population, in the apartment- and tenement-house districts, that the masses of children are to be found. Here is much need for unfolding

the panorama of occupations to the quick intelligences of the young people. Parents here are toiling day and night, and family relationships often suffer. The teachers preside over large classes, while these neighborhoods are filled with a crowd of the unskilled, the poorly paid, the unemployed, and the misemployed. It is a place of high lights and deep shadows; and for thousands of children life opens unpromisingly. Democracy probably still holds out opportunities to the child that can avail himself of them. But the highly gifted as well as the ungifted live here, equally doomed to undeveloping and cheaply paid labor.

Marshall, the economist, has shown that a large proportion of genius is lost to society because it is born among the children of the poor, where it perishes for want of opportunity. For we have no plan for conserving the talents of the poor; no plan for utilizing the resources of the immigrant. Our schools are fettered by routine. Any social experimenting designed to fructify the gifts of the new peoples is left to private philanthropy. A large proportion of the children in our cities who leave school for work as soon as the law allows are foreign-born or the children of foreign-born. Surely the hard-driven parent, struggling for a foothold in an alien country, must fail as a vocational adviser to his children. The truth is that parents do not tell their children what they should be, the children do the telling; if there be time, indeed, for such confidences.

Who shall help such children? To whom shall they turn for counsel and information about the schools and the vocations? The gathering of reliable occupational information involves painstaking labor and large resources; moreover, it can properly be done by specialists alone. Such information calls for the correlation of a variety of facts from many and often unfamiliar sources. An illustration of the kind of service needed is to be found in the use made by one vocational adviser of a report on tuberculosis in the various industries, issued by the Massachusetts State Board of Health. The report disclosed the fact that granite-cutting was among the most unhealthful occupations. From his experience as a social worker, this adviser knew that many Italians are employed in quarries and stone-yards, and that very many Italians return to their own country to die of the white plague. He took pains, therefore, to point out, particularly to teachers, that when an Italian boy intended to work at stone-cutting, the parent should see to it that a medical examination gave the boy a pulmonary clean bill; for the weak-lunged Italian boy who took up stone-cutting would probably be committing suicide. X

Another illustration of vocational help has been the work of a young woman who some years ago was in charge of a small library in a social settlement on the East Side of New York. Her idea of circulating books was to work out with each boy and girl the kind of book that would best minister to his or her needs. And

these needs were studied with infinite care. Her ministrations brought to the knowledge of the ambitious and idealistic youth of her neighborhood vocations that were unknown to them before. Forestry, social research, library science, neighborhood work, social, and civic service, were among the careers opened to young boys and girls in touch with the library and the other influences which in time clustered about that institution. And those careers are followed to-day with no little distinction by the beneficiaries of that vitalizing influence.

Clearly the time has gone by for a *laissez-faire* attitude toward this most fundamental of conservation problems. The success achieved by those who have helped to shape a youth's career is not fully accounted for by pointing to gifts of insight and patience in the adviser, or to exceptional qualities in the boys and girls who could benefit by an interest in their welfare. To content one's self with such explanation is to doom the mass of our children to fruitless lives. After all, it is with average and not with exceptional individuals that the community must mainly concern itself, and results that are worth while have attended even modest efforts at vocational guidance of large groups, as of a school, a club, or like organization. Only a backward social conscience can palliate a lack of effort to attempt some remedy, however tentative, for the present chaos in the transition from school to self-support.

II

THE WASTEFUL START AND INEFFICIENCY

EVIDENCE of what the let-alone policy is costing society may be found on every hand. A talk with any observant employer, or with almost any parent, teacher, or student of social conditions, reveals an astonishing abundance of testimony. Indeed, the amount of proof is only equaled by the general failure to heed its lessons. Little argument is needed for the systematic vocational guidance of youth; and yet, on the whole, no problem has till now elicited so little effort to meet it in the constructive way which modern methods of dealing with other social problems suggest.

Perhaps the most impressive body of facts bearing on the consequences of our failure to face the vocational needs of youth is to be found in the report issued in England a few years ago by the Royal Commission on the Poor-Laws and Relief of Distress.¹ Nothing more deeply impressed that commission in the course of its exhaustive investigation than the reckless pauperization of England's promising youth.

In the Majority Report, the commissioners lay stress on the great prominence given to boy labor, not only in the evidence which came before them, but also

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor-Laws and Relief of Distress.* London, 1909.

in the various reports of the special investigators; and the conviction is expressed that this is perhaps the most serious of the phenomena which they have encountered in their study of unemployment. Well-trained boys find it difficult enough to secure a foothold in the skilled trades; but if in addition to this there are the temptations to crowd the occupations which promise neither skill nor outlook nor future, the fact is clear that such conditions in the British Empire are making directly for unemployment in the future.

The Minority Report is even more emphatic. It points out the consequences of entering "blind-alley" occupations, and states that perpetual recruiting of the unemployable by tens of thousands of boys is perhaps the gravest of all the grave facts which the commissions laid bare. "We cannot believe," the commissioners say, "that the nation can long persist in ignoring the fact that the unemployed are thus being daily created under our eyes out of bright young lives, capable of better things, for whose training we make no provision. It is, unfortunately, only too clear that the mass of unemployment is continually being recruited by a stream of young men from industries which rely upon unskilled boy labor, and turn it adrift at random without any general special industrial qualification and that it will never be diminished till this stream is arrested."

Professor Michael E. Sadler, in commenting on the evidence before this Royal Commission, states that

boys and girls are tempted by the ease, the fairly good wages, and the sense of independence in entering occupations which leave them, at the time when they begin to need an adult's subsistence, wholly out of line for skilled employments. They are driven into the ranks of the unskilled. Certain forms of industry squander in this way the physical and the moral capital of the rising generation. His conclusions are that if no counteracting measures are taken, great and lasting injury will befall the national life.

An official report some years ago on boys leaving the London elementary schools shows that forty per cent became errand and chore boys; fourteen per cent, shop boys; eight per cent, office boys and minor clerks; while only eighteen per cent went definitely into trades. There is a fairly satisfactory law in England governing employment in factories and workshops. It is the unregulated drift from a vast variety of juvenile occupations into the low-skilled labor market that presents grave aspects. In his study of boy labor, Mr. Cyril Jackson points out that few boys ever pick up skill after a year or two spent on errand or similar work. The larger number fall into low-skilled and casual employments.¹

Ample confirmation of the Royal Commission's findings may be found in the Report of the Consultative

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor-Laws and Relief of Distress. Boy Labor. Appendix, vol. xx.* By Cyril Jackson. London, 1909.

Committee on Attendance at Continuation Schools in England and Wales, published at about the same time. The conclusions from its investigations and interviews with scores of employers and others read much like the pages of the Royal Commission's Report. The evils of educational neglect during adolescence, this committee finds, are often aggravated by the ease with which "blind-alley" occupations are entered upon. Such employments as that of errand boy are not necessarily demoralizing. Many a boy has started in this humble way on a career of success. But callings like this are apt to waste the years during which a boy should make a beginning at a skilled or developing occupation. The probabilities are that younger and cleverer competitors eventually oust the untrained workers, and at a time when these untrained workers are burdened with adult responsibilities.

The necessity of guidance intended to avert the entrance by thousands of boys and girls into a vocational *cul-de-sac* is appreciated by this committee. Its conviction is clearly expressed that the most dangerous point in the lives of children in an elementary school is the moment at which they leave it. Investigations have shown how difficult is the taking of the right step at this stage, and the lamentable consequences of taking the wrong one. This difficulty is due in large measure to the inability of parents to get the necessary information as to the conditions of employment, the wages, and the future prospects in various occupations,

as well as a knowledge of the educational opportunities and the requirements for efficiency in such occupations. The committee has found that many parents are under no necessity of sending their children to work, and that they would be both able and willing to accept lower wages at first for the sake of subsequent advantages in the vocations; but their ignorance of these matters makes it impossible for them to select work wisely for their children. "Unless children are thus cared for at this turning-point in their lives," says the Consultative Committee, "the store of knowledge and discipline acquired at school will be quickly dissipated, and they will soon become unfit either for employment or for further education."¹

American testimony as to this important matter has, during the past three or four years, powerfully confirmed the English findings. Several investigations, by public and private organizations, of the vocational problems of young working children and the reasons why they left school for work, deserve brief review.

Two Boston school-teachers were appointed by the Superintendent of Schools to make a study during 1912 of the conditions in the school, home, and occupational life of children for the purpose of establishing vocational guidance in the school system. The study was to be, at first-hand, of the children in certain selected school districts of the city representing a

¹ *Board of Education, Report of the Consultative Committee*, p. 22. London, 1909.

typical variety of economic, racial, geographical, and industrial conditions. The points for special study of two groups of boys and girls in the school districts, namely, the graduates of the preceding year, and those who dropped out from the grades, are covered in the following questions: —

(a)

1. How many of the graduates continued to attend school?
2. What schools?
3. What vocational intent entered into their decision to attend a given school?
4. How many persevered to the end of the school year in attendance?
5. How many left school during the year, and why?
6. How many of the graduates went to work after graduation? Kind of work?
7. How many remained at home, and why?

(b)

1. The reason or reasons for leaving school, special reference being made to the number who left school to go to work and to what extent actual poverty of the family was the cause.
2. The occupation entered, and why.
 - (a) How obtained? Vocational plan?
 - (b) Wages?
 - (c) Length of employment?
 - (d) Changes of employment?
 - (e) Causes for change?
 - (f) Chances for advancement?

It may be of interest to quote some of the findings from the report of one investigator: —

Girls who went to work and their opportunities

There was little or no difference in the occupations open to the girls who graduated and those who left before graduat-

ing. The principal places open to them were in the department stores as bundle girls at \$2.50 to \$3.50; in the factories at \$3 to \$4; in stores as salesgirls at \$5; in tailors' shops at \$2.50 to \$3.50.

Needless to state, after the first glamour of working has worn off, the girls tire and leave such work, or the season becomes dull and they are "laid off" temporarily or permanently, according as they seem more or less desirable to their employers.

Reasons for leaving school

The proportion of girls forced by financial circumstances to leave school was comparatively small. Being backward in their grades, dislike of school, desire for a change, desire to be with friends who were working, were principal reasons.

Parents' knowledge of vocational opportunities

It was most pathetic to see how little the parents knew of the real industrial conditions and of what educational and vocational opportunities, entirely within their reach, existed in Boston. This was true in far, far larger extent of the parents of girls who left school in the grades than of those who graduated. This was due, doubtless, to the fact that the graduating classes have been given talks along these lines, and, even if the parents did not attend conferences given by schools and associations, they have gleaned some knowledge from the girls when they did not have personal knowledge.

Deductions

My experience has been that the vast majority of the parents of the girls in the study just completed knew nothing except what they had obtained through the school as to the various high schools and their specialties — the trade and industrial schools — the necessity of extra training and preparation to enter any occupation in which there were chances for advancement. The attitude of the parents when visited in the homes made it appear only too clear that practically all would welcome such guidance and avail themselves of it.

Equally interesting are the conclusions of an investigation carried on by the University of Chicago Settlement into the opportunities in school and industry for the children of the neighboring stockyard districts. The main points of inquiry in the study were: The industrial opportunities for children between fourteen and sixteen years of age; the kind of jobs they secure, wages, and chances for advancement; the relation of the public school to local economic conditions; the attitude of parent and child to the school and the job; the relation of the family income to the causes for early leaving of school; and what may be done to bridge the gap between school and work and to guide youth into an appropriate vocation. The conclusions are:—

1. The district studied is peopled by immigrants of various races; their work is unskilled; and their main source of employment is the stockyards.
2. The testimony of principal, teacher, child, and parent unites in the conclusion that the public school is not meeting the needs of adolescence and adjusting the child to his future work.
3. The great exodus from school comes before the seventh grade, and shortly after the child reaches the age of fourteen.
4. The ignorance of parents, the willingness of children, and the pressure of straitened circumstances combine in forcing boys and girls to leave school for work as soon as the law will permit it.
5. Few children from the neighborhood go to high school, or keep up any form of educational interest after leaving school.
6. Yet the boys and girls have talents and abilities in special directions.

7. The occupations entered are easily learned, mechanical, and devoid of educational value.
8. The kind of jobs secured is much a matter of chance; the migration from place to place does not lead to better opportunities; the pay is small; and the net result is instability of character.
9. A number of "subnormal" boys are as successful in industry as many "normal" boys.
10. There is no marked economic advantage to be gained by a longer stay in school; before the age of sixteen preparation in school does not count, considering the ordinary run of mechanical occupations open to children.
11. Over half of the families from which the working children come have such a low income that the wages of the boy and girl are judged necessary.
12. The experience of older boys and girls shows a small average contribution to the family income, a short average time in each position, and a long average period of idleness. All of these persons stopped school during the fourteen-to-sixteen-year period.
13. Aside from parasitic industries, there is no economic necessity for juvenile labor, according to the testimony of employers.
14. The public school is best adapted to deal with the problem of vocational direction.

The most intensive study of the conditions under which children in this country leave school to go to work is to be found in one of the volumes on *Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States*, a series of studies published by the United States Government in 1910. For special inquiry, six hundred and twenty-two children were chosen in seven different localities in two Northern and two Southern States. One cannot fail to be impressed by the similarity of the evidence

presented in this investigation to that of the others just discussed. Take, for example, the summary on the opposite page, which analyzes the causes for leaving school, and note how closely the order of causes resembles those given in other reports. This table shows, as do other investigations, that two thirds of the children who drop out of school for work could have remained if they had so desired, or if they had been intelligently influenced and could have found it worth while to stay in school: —

The intervening years, then, between leaving school — which for the majority of children occurs when they are fourteen years of age — and entering upon work which promises any development at all, are largely wasted. Society gains but little by the labor of thousands of its children at the most precious period of their growth. This is not because much of the work done is not of use; but with our present neglect we provide no corrective for the mischief which attends all uneducative work. The reports of the two commissions on Industrial Education in Massachusetts, investigations into street trades in Boston, Chicago, and elsewhere, and all the observations of the child-saving societies in this country confirm the Royal Commission's alarm over juvenile labor as now carried on.

The employer is very often as much a victim of these conditions as the boy himself. The allurements of good pay for uninstructional work is soon seen through by many a boy, and his restlessness during employ-

ment, where often, without any apparent provocation, he throws up his place, is a constant source of vexation, and undoes in the more promising occupa-

SUMMARY OF CAUSES FOR CHILDREN LEAVING SCHOOL

Cause for child leaving school to go to work	Number	Per cent
Necessity: —		
Earnings necessary to family support.....	169	
Help needed at home.....	6	
Self-support necessary.....	11	
Total.....	186	30.0
Child's help desired, though not necessary: —		
In family support.....	140	
To buy property.....	12	
In home work.....	14	
To earn money for education of self or relative..	7	
Total.....	173	27.9
Child's dissatisfaction with school: —		
Tired of school.....	35	
Disliked school (general manner of life there)....	54	
Disliked teacher.....	31	
Disliked to study.....	16	
Could not learn.....	10	
Not promoted.....	5	
Too big for class.....	14	
Total.....	165	26.6
Child's preference for work: —		
Work preferred to school.....	44	
Spending money wanted.....	8	
Association desired with friends who worked.....	9	
Total.....	61	9.8
Other causes: —		
Ill-health.....	16	
To be kept off the streets.....	1	
To learn a trade or business.....	6	
To avoid vaccination.....	2	
Removal of residence.....	1	
Mother's disapproval of coeducation.....	1	
"Too much play".....	1	
Company pressure.....	7	
Total.....	35	5.7
Grand total.....	620	100.0

Two children never went to school, but studied at home.

tions any plan which the employer might have in view for the promotion of his boys. This skipping from job to job can only mean for most boys and girls certain

**THE TYPICAL EMPLOYMENT RECORD OF ONE
CHILD BETWEEN THE AGES OF 14 AND 16
FROM INVESTIGATION MADE BY MISS MARY FLEXNER**

Positions held	Length of time in each	Kind of work
First	3 days	In factory, sorting buttons
Second	2 months	Ribboning corset covers and machine work on them
Third	1 week	Ribboning and buttoning corset covers
Fourth	Time unknown	Ladies' underwear
Fifth	Up to Christmas	Errand girl
Sixth	2½ months	Ribboning corset covers
Seventh	Time unknown	Errand girl
Eighth	A few weeks	Trim, cut, and examine men's ties
Ninth	A few weeks	Return to second job
Tenth	A few weeks	Home work, ribboning

By permission of the Henry Street Settlement.

demoralization. They become job hoboes. They are given work only because nobody else is in sight or so cheap, and they stay at work as little as they may. Juvenile wages are their portion, no matter what services they render, nor for how long a period. A tragic situation is here disclosed. Not only do we find that modern work conditions "put a man on the shelf" in

the prime of his years, because the speed and skill of younger brains and hands are called for, but we find, too, a shelving of youth itself before life has given these groping beginners a fair chance. They seem doomed to be juvenile adults bound by an iron law of juvenile wages. The "dead end" or "blind-alley" occupations, therefore, with their snare of high initial wages and their destructiveness to any steady or serious life-work motive, are breeding perilous evils. Unanimous testimony on this point by the special investigators of the Royal Commission has led to the opinion that this, perhaps, is the most serious of all the problems encountered in its study of unemployment. A term of sinister suggestion has been coined to describe the products of this vocational anarchy — "the unemployables."

The unemployables are people whom no ordinary employer would care to employ, not so much because of their physical or mental incapacity, but because their economic backbone has been broken. The vocationally wasted years have landed their victims on the industrial quicksands; they become the wanderers of our job jungle. Tempting wages with no training, the wrong use of youthful energies, long hours of dull and sterile work, conspire to turn out, when youth-hood is over, a horde of phantom-workers, quite blighted as to their vocational ideals and possibilities.

It is clear that adequate provision for social as well as vocational training, and systematic life-work counseling at the period of life when boys and girls are most

largely thrown upon their individual efforts, would help correct these disastrous conditions. The movement for vocational education rests solidly on an appreciation of the facts. Education has become more practical because it has become more democratic. We are more concerned now that the courses shall fit the boys and girls than that these should fit the courses; that the school shall go through the child than that the child shall go through the school.

To fit youth for a life of genuine service is the aim of modern education. This preparation makes for a life of larger appreciations and sympathies than is possible to non-vocational education. Neither the home, the common school, nor the present-day conditions of bread-winning can offer youth the necessary preparation for efficient work and living. Stress of competition, large-scale operations of production and distribution, subdivision and speed of labor, and higher standards of professional equipment make it well-nigh impossible for youth to get the necessary equipment during the period of work alone. In industry the boys are taken on, not as apprentices but as "process" workers where, while becoming deft in one minute operation, they learn nothing of the fundamental principles of the work on which the plastic period of their youth is spent.

Where, then, are the boy and girl to find that training which shall strengthen them for self-support and vocational progress? Not a few employers confessedly

expect their competitors to bear the brunt of training employees, who are eagerly appropriated when they have become proficient. The beginners in almost every desirable occupation are expected to know something and amount to something from the very outset in employment.

New demands are made upon the public school system as the best agency for solving the problem of vocational education. The right of every child to the best possible chance in life makes necessary the public control of vocational training. The future development of our industries, and the promotion of high-grade productive enterprises which pay good wages and encourage intelligence, call for the training of large groups, such as the public schools alone can reach. Employers require well-trained youth for their shops and offices, and they take the schools to task for the ill-equipped product turned out. Vocational education, therefore, has grown into a nation-wide movement, partly in response to the employer's needs; but more especially in response to the needs of the individual workers who face new exactions on efficiency, and to a realization that civilized standards of living depend for their maintenance largely on the quality and skill of a nation's workers.

Yet underlying the demand for efficiently productive youth, both in the trades and in the professions, there is another demand which the movement for vocational guidance has brought into the foreground.

It is right that those who give employment to boys and girls shall ask for efficiency. It is wholesome, too, for any public institution to be measured by the concrete test of results and be called upon to check up its work. But it is equally the right and duty of those entrusted with the nurture of the rising generation to make the vocations render account, too. What happens to the boys and girls under the new influences in employment is not alone a matter between them and their individual employers, nor between them and their parents, but it is essentially one for the community.

The vocational movements in education — that is, the movements for vocational education and guidance — have brought forward some far-reaching questions of school and social policy. These movements, with their multiplying schemes of training, and their vocation bureaus, vocational information, scholarship, follow-up, and research societies, have focused attention on the widespread failure of the recent past to understand the trials of helpless children in the gulf between school and work. But now that aroused interest everywhere in the after-school problems of boys and girls has begun to manifest itself in the form of numerous vocational help projects, the question as to what is the duty of the public school toward its children who leave for work looms large. Is it the business of our schools to follow their children into the shops and store? Shall the schools have any voice as to the kind of work the children may do? And if the schools are,

indeed, to follow the children into employment, how far may they go in their control and supervision of the start in life?

These and similar questions thinking people throughout the world are pondering over. There is not so much discussion now as to whether or not the school shall have anything to do with such matters; the situation is clear enough; thoughtful people everywhere realize that it is social ruin to leave the adolescent worker adrift.

Our main concern, then, it is generally conceded, is with the most effective ways of taking up the costly slack in our educational service. Guidance of some sort we have always with us as a matter of course; there is vocational guidance, if it may so be called, even where there has been least thought given to the changes which have taken place since home and shop have ceased to be the center of directive vocational influence. Take any class of children in any school and ask for compositions on what they intend to be, and why; their papers will automatically reflect precisely the kind of vocational suggestion and bias, the knowledge or lack of it which they absorb from school, home, and neighborhood. Those who have had the opportunity to help boys and girls with organized vocational information and counsel know how far ahead such children are, in the strength and definiteness of their future plan and aim, as contrasted with the children who hear little, or perhaps only partial truths, about

the work of the world, and the training which is related to it.

The educational protection of the young ends arbitrarily when the work certificate is granted. Assuredly this is not to the interest of either the child or the employer. On the contrary, the few years after leaving school should be the time for most thoroughgoing follow-up work by the public. While school authorities are given increasing resources to train for the demands of modern vocational life, they should be likewise empowered to deal with uses which are made of the training given. A searching appraisal of occupations must be undertaken, so that foreknowledge and forewarning shall be the common possession of every parent, teacher, boy, and girl. The job, like the school, should be made to give an account of itself. The desirable occupations must be better known and prepared for; the dull and deadly being classified in a rogue's gallery of their own. Not till this is done can reciprocal purpose mark the relation between employer and employee. For the uneducative, if necessary, work which young people are yet obliged to do, compensation must be provided in the form of leisure and opportunity for further improvement, social as well as vocational, in special day classes and schools for such workers. Is it too much to hope that the near future will see our schools unite with the best employers to further, during its decisive vocational years, youth's promise of service and growth?

III

EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

A GROWING interest and an increasing literature on the subject indicate a new attitude toward the vocational problems of the adolescent. The Convention of the National Education Association, held in 1910, might be said to have found its keynote in the significant title of President Eliot's address, "The Value, during Education, of the Life-Career Motive." Hundreds of teachers departed with renewed conviction that the success of the coming education will lie in the strength of the controlling purposes it develops in boys and girls to live and work efficiently. The Report of the Committee on the Place of Industries in Public Education is a contribution to the subject of vocational preparation. It grasps throughout the fundamental need of training to choose life-work intelligently.

"It is to be hoped," says this Report, "that the constructive work and the study of industry in the elementary school will ultimately be of such a character that when the pupil reaches the age at which the activities of adult life make their appeal, he will be able to make a wise choice in reference to them

and be already advanced in an appreciable measure toward the goal of his special vocation."

The question of choice of a life-work involves quite as much selecting the right kind of further schooling as the right vocation. It is quite as important to attend the right kind of high or other school as it is to do the work one is best fitted for. Before the work of vocational counseling and help had gone far in the pioneer efforts of the Boston school system a few years ago, it was realized that the aimless drift of the grade-school children into the several departments of the high schools was a serious obstacle to any real vocational guidance. "If children know so little about the different aims and special uses of the college preparatory or the manual arts courses as to go into them without careful forethought and selection," reasoned those interested in vocational counseling, "we cannot hope to do much toward a thoughtful choice of a life-work." The truth is that boys and girls have been drifting from the lower schools to the secondary schools very much as they drift from school to job. It is not a matter of surprise, therefore, that there should be a large and preventable dropping out from the early classes of our high schools, too.

Education, then, has become the recognized first step in vocational guidance; the bridging of the gap between the elementary and other school opportunities. In such vital interlocking of a community's training resources, there is a genuine guidance;

there is, moreover, a new sense of value imparted to the scheme of public education as a whole. Two illustrations from Boston school experience show a promising beginning in the new method of helping in the selection of pupils for the various high schools of the city. Both the High School of Commerce and the High School of Practical Arts receive applications for entrance from several hundred more grammar school graduates than can be accommodated. What pupils are to be given the preference? On what basis are they to be picked? The Boston School Committee authorized the school superintendent to work out with the school principals a plan whereby each school might designate one or more teachers to serve as vocational advisers for the school. Over two hundred teachers have been so designated, and their services to the high schools in question may be told in the words of the officials themselves. The head master of the High School of Practical Arts writes: —

When it became evident that many more girls than could be taken had sent in applications for admission, I wrote the principals requesting them to turn the list over to the vocational counselors with the suggestion that the pupils be graded according to their standing in cooking, sewing, and drawing. I also asked that those who could afford only one year for further preparation be directed to the trade schools. Girls without special liking for our work were shown the possibilities of the other schools.

The girls were classed in three groups, — first, second, and third, — according to standing in the subjects above mentioned, together with the taste and personal adaptability of each. I took all of the first and some of the second, giving

personal attention to some special cases. If good judgment has been shown, our classes will be made up of girls who will take an interest in the work of the school and who will profit thereby.

Here is a communication of the former head master of the High School of Commerce: —

The plan of having the vocational counselors of grammar schools select boys for our high school was as follows: "The problem with the High School of Commerce has been a pressing one for the past two years. Last year we selected by lot, thinking that such a method was fairest and most democratic. When vocational advisers were appointed in each grammar school, we thought that we could properly call upon them to solve the problem. At a meeting held in the spring, some of us addressed all the vocational advisers of the grammar schools, explaining the types of school and the kind of boys suitable. Opportunity was given for questions. Many of the advisers then visited the schools. They took the matter in earnest, calling in the parents and forming a very careful judgment in selecting the boys. At our school we feel that the best method yet has been found and that the system will improve year by year."

An organized scheme, then, for advising young people as to the continuance of their schooling and its bearing on future occupation is a promising approach to a solution of the vocational situation we have been considering. An experiment with a group of high-school boys shortly before their graduation a few years ago revealed a need for life-career guidance, an effort to meet which led to what is probably the first vocation bureau in this country. Sixty or more boys were invited to a reception on the roof-garden of the Civic Service House in the North End of Boston, in order

to talk over their future plans with the late Professor Frank Parsons and several other workers of that neighborhood house. The interviews disclosed that about a dozen of the boys were going to college, a third of the rest hoped to be lawyers, almost another third doctors, three or four had definite plans for business careers, while the rest had no plans and were going to take whatever came along. It is a question whether those with no plans in view were not better off than the boys who planned for legal and medical studies, woefully unprepared, most of them, for the expense, the sacrifice, and the struggles that even moderate success in those callings demanded. Indeed, vocation, a calling, in its literal sense, is not the word to use; with many of the boys the ideal compulsion to devote themselves to some one pursuit above all others was not manifest. There could be no doubt that the ambition and perseverance of some of these boys would overcome the obstacles in store for them; but unfortunately the story of success is more easily told than that of mediocrity or failure. We have yet to learn how to take stock of waste and misdirection as well as of achievement in human pursuits.

An office was opened to give those who so desired an opportunity to talk over their vocational problems with a sympathetic and skilled economist. Professor Parsons took charge of the Civic Service House Vocation Bureau, where scores of men and women of all ages and conditions, as well as hundreds of letters,

came to him from all parts of the country. A note of lost-self seemed to be the burden of an amazing number of these communications. Of course, little could be done for the letter-writers, because helpful vocational counsel cannot honestly be given except through intimate personal contact.

Professor Parson's work is described in the last volume which he wrote, entitled *Choosing a Vocation*.¹ This pioneer work shows how the author in his treatment of the applicant, emphasized the importance of scientific method in self-analysis in the course of a number of interviews with the counselor. The counselor, on the other hand, was to be trained according to a definite plan, and equipped with a knowledge of the vocations, of industrial statistics, and of the available educational opportunities.

Within a year the interest taken by business men, educators, and social workers in the possibilities of a well-organized vocation bureau, located centrally in offices of its own, gave that pioneer experiment a better foundation and a wider scope. The new Vocation Bureau's coöperation with the Boston schools was among its first activities.

Early in the spring of 1909, the School Committee of Boston passed a resolution inviting the Vocation Bureau to submit a plan for vocational guidance to assist public-school pupils. The Bureau thereupon presented the following suggestions: —

¹ Published by Houghton Mifflin Company.

First, the Bureau will employ a director to give practically his entire time to the organization of vocational counsel to the graduates of the Boston public schools during the ensuing year.

Second, the work of this vocational director shall be carried on in coöperation with the Boston School Committee or the Superintendent of Schools, as the Committee shall see fit.

Third, it is the plan of the Bureau to have this vocational director organize a conference of masters and teachers of the Boston high schools through the Committee or the Superintendent, so that members of the graduating classes will be met for vocational advice either by this vocational director or by the coöperating school masters and teachers, all working along a general plan, to be adopted by this conference.

Fourth, the vocational director should, in coöperation with the Superintendent of Schools, or any person whom he may appoint, arrange vocational lectures for the members of the graduating classes.

Fifth, the Bureau believes that school masters and teachers should be definitely trained to give vocational counsel, and therefore, that it is advisable for this vocational director, in coöperation with the Superintendent of Schools, to establish a series of conferences to which certain selected teachers and masters should be invited on condition that they will agree in turn definitely to do vocational counseling with their own pupils.

Sixth, the vocational director will keep a careful record of the work accomplished for the pupils during the year, the number of pupils counseled with, the attitude of the pupils with reference to a choice of vocations, the advice given, and, as far as possible, the results following. These records should form the basis for a report to the Boston School Committee at the end of the year. The Bureau cherishes the hope that it can so demonstrate the practicability and value of this work that the Boston School Committee will eventually establish in its regular organization a supervisor of vocational advice.

On June 7, 1909, the School Committee at a regular meeting took favorable action on the Vocation Bureau's suggestions and instructed the Superintendent of Schools to appoint a committee of six to work with the director. For over a year the committee thus appointed, consisting of three masters and three sub-masters, held weekly meetings at the office of the Vocation Bureau. Their first report to the Superintendent of Schools is worth giving in full, not only because of the valuable suggestions it contains, but also as an indication of the teachers' place in school vocational guidance: —

The Committee on Vocational Direction respectfully presents the following as a report for the school year just closed. The past year has been a year of beginnings, the field of operation being large and the problems complicated. A brief survey of the work shows the following results: —

A general interest in vocational direction has been aroused among the teachers of Boston, not only in the elementary but in the high schools.

A vocational counselor, or a committee of such counselors, has been appointed in every high school and in all but one of the elementary schools.

A vocational card record of every elementary school graduate for this year has been made, to be forwarded to the high school in the fall.

Stimulating vocational lectures have been given to thirty of the graduating classes of the elementary schools of Boston, including all the schools in the more congested parts of the city.

Much has been done by way of experiment by the members of this committee in the various departments of getting employment, counseling, and following up pupils after leaving school.

The interest and loyal coöperation of many of the leading philanthropic societies of Boston have been secured, as well as that of many prominent in the business and professional life of the city and the State.

A good beginning has already been made in reviewing books suitable for vocational libraries in the schools.

It was early decided that we should confine our efforts for the first year mainly to pupils of the highest elementary grade as the best point of contact. The problem of vocational aid and counsel in the high schools has not as yet been directly dealt with, yet much that is valuable has been accomplished in all our high schools on the initiative of the head masters and selected teachers. It is safe to say that the quality and amount of vocational aid and direction has far exceeded any hitherto given in those schools. The committee, through open and private conferences, and correspondence with the head masters, have kept in close touch with the situation in high schools, but they feel that for the present year it is best for the various types of high schools each to work out its own plan of vocational direction. The facts regarding their experience can properly be made the basis of a later report. A committee of three, appointed by the Head Masters' Association, stands ready to advise with this committee on all matters relating to high-school vocational interests. Once during the year the principals of the specialized high schools met in conference the vocational counselors of the city and have presented the aims and curricula of these schools in such a way as greatly to enlighten those responsible for advising pupils just entering high schools.

The committee have held regular weekly meetings through the school year since September. At these meetings every phase of vocational aid has been discussed, together with the adaptability to our present educational system. Our aim has been to test the various conclusions before recommending them for adoption. This has taken time. Our most serious problem so far has been to adapt our plans to conditions as we find them, without increasing the teachers' work and without greatly increased expense. We have assumed that the movement was not a temporary "fad," but that it had

a permanent value, and was therefore worthy the serious attention of educators.

Three aims have stood out above all others: first, to secure thoughtful consideration, on the part of parents, pupils, and teachers, of the importance of a life-career motive; second, to assist in every way possible in placing pupils in some remunerative work on leaving school; and third, to keep in touch with and help them thereafter, suggesting means of improvement and watching the advancement of those who need such aid. The first aim has been in some measure achieved throughout the city. The other two have thus far been worked out only by the individual members of the committee. As a result we are very firmly of the opinion that until some central bureau of information for pupils regarding trade and mercantile opportunities is established, and some effective system of sympathetically following up pupils, for a longer or a shorter period after leaving school, is organized in our schools as centers, the effort to advise and direct merely will largely fail. Both will require added executive labor which will fall upon the teachers at first. We believe they will accept the responsibility. If, as Dr. Eliot says, teachers find those schools more interesting where the life-career motive is present, then the sooner that motive is discovered in the majority of pupils the more easily will the daily work be done and the product correspondingly improved.

In order to enlist the interest and coöperation of the teachers of Boston, three mass meetings, one in October and two in the early spring, were held. A fourth meeting with the head masters of high schools was also held with the same object. As a most gratifying result the general attitude is most sympathetic and the enthusiasm marked. The vocation counselors in high and elementary schools form a working organization of over one hundred teachers, representing all the schools. A responsible official, or committee, in each school stands ready to advise pupils and parents at times when they most need advice and are asking for it. They suggest whatever helps may be available in further educational preparation. They are ready to fit themselves professionally to do this work more intelligently and discriminatingly, not

only by meeting together for mutual counsel and exchange of experiences, but by study and expert preparation if need be.

As a beginning of our work with pupils we have followed out two lines: the lecture and the card record. The addresses have been mainly stimulating and inspirational. It seems to the committee, however, that specific information coming from those intimately connected with certain lines of labor should have a place also in this lecture phase of our work. In a large number of high and elementary schools addresses of this character have been given by experts during the year. The committee claim no credit for these, though carried out under the inspiration of the movement the committee represent. The custom of having such addresses given before Junior Alumni Associations, Parents' Associations, and evening school gatherings has become widespread, the various masters taking the initiative in such cases. The speakers are able to quote facts with an authority that is convincing to the pupil and leads him to take a more serious view of his future plans, especially if the address is followed up by similar talks from the class teacher, emphasizing the points of the speaker. This is a valuable feature and should be extended to include more of the elementary grades, especially in the more densely settled portions of the city, from which most of our unskilled workers come.

A vocational record card calling for elementary-school data on one side and for high-school data on the other, has been furnished all the elementary schools for registration of this year's graduates. The same card will be furnished to high schools this fall. These cards are to be sent forward by the elementary-school counselors to high schools in September, to be revised twice during the high-school course. The value of the card record is not so much in the registering of certain data as in the results of the process of getting these. The effect upon the mental attitude of pupil, teacher, and parent is excellent, and makes an admirable beginning in the plan of vocational direction.

The committee are now in a position where they must meet a demand of both pupils and teachers for vocational enlightenment. Pupils should have detailed information in

the form of inexpensive handbooks regarding the various callings and how to get into them, wages, permanence of employment, chance of promotion, etc. Teachers must have a broader outlook upon industrial opportunities for boys and girls. Even those teachers who know their pupils well generally have little acquaintance with industrial conditions. The majority can advise fairly well how to prepare for a profession, while few can tell a boy how to get into a trade, or what the opportunities therein are. In this respect our teachers will need to be more broadly informed regarding social, industrial, and economic problems. We have to face a more serious problem in a crowded American city than in a country where children are supposed to follow the father's trade.

In meeting the two most pressing needs, namely, the vocational enlightenment of teachers, parents, and pupils, and the training of vocational counselors, we shall continue to look for aid to the Vocation Bureau. The Bureau has been of much assistance during the past year, in fact indispensable, in matters of correspondence, securing information, getting out printed matter, and in giving the committee counsel based upon a superior knowledge of men and conditions in the business world.

The question of vocational direction is merely one phase of the greater question of vocational education. As a contributory influence we believe serious aggressive work in this line will lead to several definite results, aside from the direct benefit to the pupils. It will create a demand for better literature on the subject of vocations. It will help increase the demand for more and better trade schools. It will cause teachers to seek to broaden their knowledge of opportunities for mechanical and mercantile training. Lastly, it will tend to a more intelligent and generous treatment of employees by business houses, the personal welfare and prospects of the employee being taken into account as well as the interests of the house itself.

What some of the specific aims and activities of a vocation bureau are may, perhaps, be illustrated by a concrete presentation of the work in Boston.

The general aims of the Boston Vocation Bureau are: —

1. *To study the causes of the waste* in the passing of unguided and untrained young people from school to work, and *to assist in experiments* to prevent this waste.
2. *To help parents, teachers, children,* and others in the problems of thoughtfully choosing, preparing for, and advancing in, a chosen life-work.
3. *To work out programs of coöperation* between the schools and the occupations, for the purpose of enabling both to make a more socially profitable use of talents and opportunities.
4. *To publish vocational studies* from the point of view of their educational and other efficiency requirements, and of their career-building possibilities.
5. *To conduct a training course* for qualified men and women who desire to prepare themselves for vocational-guidance service in the public-school system, philanthropic institutions, and in business establishments.
6. *To maintain a clearing-house of information* dealing with life-career problems.

The Vocation Bureau's activities, it will be noted, consist of individual service, investigations, and constructive experiments in the fields of education and employment.

The main divisions of the Bureau's work may be grouped under the following heads: —

Clearing-house for vocational guidance

Offices are maintained in a downtown building where books, pamphlets, reports, press and magazine clippings, manuscripts, and other reference material are available to teachers, parents, investigators, students,

and others who call for information, suggestions, and help. The files contain the best material thus far procurable in this country and abroad bearing on life-career problems.

Research and publications

Vocations open to boys and young men are carefully studied in accordance with the scheme later presented here and the results are published in tentative pamphlet form. Three months has been the minimum time devoted to one study. Some have taken longer than a year. From fifty to one hundred or more people are consulted personally as to the facts in each occupation — employers, superintendents, foremen, workers in their homes as well as in the place of work, union officials, social workers, instructors, and other authorities. In each case the manuscript and printed proofs go back for revision and correction to those who have given trustworthy information. An economist reviews final proofs to insure statistical accuracy.

The purpose of these studies is:—

1. To present vocational facts simply and accurately.
2. To make accessible, in time, a body of information as to employments: the professions as well as the trades, skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled; the business, the homemaking and governmental callings, and also any new and significant vocational activities of men and women.
3. So far as possible to supply parents, teachers, and other interested persons with the material necessary for an intelligent consideration of the occupations, their needs,

- demands, opportunities, relative desirability, training requirements, and the possibilities they offer for careers.
4. To analyze the relation of vocational aptitudes, interests, and habits to modern industrial demands, and thus lay an adequate foundation for a system of training regardless of social as well as economic needs.

The proper utilization of such material should make for a heightened interest in the community's training opportunities, and should make the fact increasingly clear that society will gain immensely by devoting the adolescent period in whole or in part to preparation for a right start in life. Above all, such studies should help toward a clearer understanding of what working life ought to develop in social as well as in wage-earning efficiency.

THE PLAN OF THE INVESTIGATION OF OCCUPATIONS

1. To gather a body of detailed and accurate information as to the various occupations open to boys and young men in skilled and unskilled, professional, and other pursuits.
2. To place this material in the hands of teachers and vocational counselors.
3. To use this information in advising the hundreds of boys and young men who come to the Bureau for aid.
4. To have it available at the Bureau for general public use.
5. To make it the basis of a series of vocational bulletins and books.

Methods

1. By a card system of investigation, touching the occupation at fifty points of vital interest.

42 YOUTH, SCHOOL, AND VOCATION

2. By studying all available, carefully selected, firms in an industry.
3. By going through factories, workshops, stores, and places where young persons are employed, to study conditions of employment at first-hand.
4. By personal interviews of the investigator with employers, superintendents, foremen, and employees in an occupation.
5. By interviewing officials of labor unions, clubs, or associations representative of an occupation.
6. By verifying all material upon an occupation by repeated visits, and by going to other firms or individuals in the same occupation.
7. By a wide use of books and periodical literature.

The firm

1. Name of firm and address.
2. Superintendent or employment manager.
3. Total number of employees, male and female.
4. Numbers of girls and boys.
5. Shifting in relative number of boys and girls, if any.
6. Union, non-union, or open shop.
7. Will the employer take boys sent by the Vocation Bureau?
8. Will he attend conferences held by the Bureau, if invited?
9. Will he join the Employment Managers' Association?
10. Every effort is made to establish cordial coöperation.

The occupation

1. The nature of the occupation.
2. The processes of manufacture or divisions of work involved in it.
3. The variety of skill required for entering the occupation.
4. Opportunities for changes from one department to another.
5. Employment offered seasonal or steady through the year.
6. Physical conditions of the occupation.

7. Special dangers, as machinery, dust, moisture, heat or cold, hard labor, strain, monotony.
8. Competitive conditions and future of the industry.
9. White cards used to show pursuits with normal conditions and future; colored cards for "dead-end" or dangerous pursuits.

Pay

1. Pay at the beginning, as wages or salary, and hours of employment.
2. Pay of certain ages and various groups.
3. Time or piece payment, premium or bonus.
4. The rate of increase.
5. Upon what does increase in pay depend?
6. Minimum, average, and maximum pay of those in the occupation.

The boy

1. How boys are usually secured in an industry.
2. What previous positions they have held elsewhere.
3. What questions asked, tests applied, or records kept.
4. The age of entering the occupation.
5. Educational requirements.
6. The advantages of various kinds of educational equipment.
7. Physical and personal requirements.
8. Continuation of training for advancement in the occupation.

Positions and advancements

1. Positions open to boys, as employees in factory, workshop, or salesroom.
2. Opportunities for advancement, as —
 - a. In office.
 - b. Foreman or superintendent.
 - c. Buyer.
 - d. Traveling salesman.
 - e. Manager.
 - f. Partnership or proprietor.

Comments of people

1. Comments of people in the industry as to its nature, future, and what it offers as an occupation for boys: (a) of the employer or superintendent; (b) of the foreman or floor superintendent; (c) of boys now employed in the occupation; (d) of people formerly engaged in the occupation or who may have intimate or expert knowledge concerning it.

Other information

1. Comment and report upon the occupation by the State Board of Health.
2. Statistics of the Census Bureau upon the occupation in Boston, in the State, and in the United States.
3. Bibliography for this industry, as the latest books or periodical articles dealing with it.
4. A list of schools giving vocational training for this occupation.

Vocational bulletins

1. From the material on the vocational cards, from books and papers upon occupations, and from other information are prepared vocational bulletins, giving as leading points: (a) The occupation, its nature, conditions, and future; (b) pay, positions, and opportunities; (c) the boy, qualities and training; (d) comments of people in the occupation; (e) health reports; (f) census statistics; (g) bibliography; (h) schools.
2. For verification and suggestion these bulletins are submitted to men who have given information in an investigation and to other persons in the same occupation, in typewritten and in proof form.
3. These bulletins give simple and direct working information upon the various occupations open to boys and young men in Greater Boston.
4. They are for the use of the Bureau, of teachers, parents, boys, and others interested in the welfare of youth.

Work with the Boston schools

One of the principal provisions in the arrangements, as already noted, between the Boston School Committee and the Vocation Bureau was for a group of teachers to be known as vocational counselors, to be appointed by their respective principals and to represent every school in Boston. The teachers so appointed have been meeting throughout the school year to consider the educational opportunities of the city, the vocational problems of the children, and to confer with employers and others who have been invited to the sessions.

The work of the vocational counselors has been a labor of love. Nobody has expected that occupational meetings could alone equip for effective vocational guidance. Important results, however, have come out of these meetings.

In the first place, every school in the city has had one teacher — indeed, in some schools, committees of teachers have formed voluntarily — to consider the dropping out from the grades of many boys and girls. These teachers are personally studying the home, street, and other influences which steady or unsettle the children when the compulsory education laws no longer restrain; they are trying to discover what assistance a school can give to parent and child perplexed with the problems of a life-career.

There is plentiful testimony showing that fathers

and mothers now turn to the Boston schools as never before for advice and help concerning their children's future. Questions as to what high schools or vocational schools, and what courses, should be chosen are continually coming before the counselors. The abilities, the interests, faults, and promising tendencies in the children are topics of grave discussion between parent and teacher or principal, the point of view being not only that of present school requirements, but also that of the probable careers of the children. In the classrooms the occupational talks have been repeated in order to make clear the efficiency requirements of the practical world outside. School programs and even commencement-day programs have begun to show how schools are facing the challenging world which is soon to claim the productive years of these children.

This awakened practical interest of the schools in the life-work of the children cannot stop short of comprehensive supervision and protection of the after-school careers of boys and girls. Already teachers, on their own initiative and with an expenditure of much time and energy, have gone into the homes of their pupils, and have sought to get first-hand knowledge of the industrial environment. If our schools are to have any guiding relation to life, — and all educational reform clamors for this relation, — teachers must be given every incentive to touch in such personal ways the realities of the life which their pupils will experience.

The Bureau's relations with employers

The Vocation Bureau realizes that a sound development of its work depends not only on close contact with schools, neighborhoods, teachers, parents, and children, but also with employers, business organizations, industrial experts, and the occupations themselves in all their ranges, variety, and changes. Occupational investigation, fundamental though it be, is not vocational guidance. The investigation determines, to be sure, what kind of coöperation is possible or desirable, and on what terms; it is the basis of vocational information, of program-making for special training courses in schools, and of social and legislative action; but the vocational-guidance idea requires that contact with the employments be something more than onlooking. Moreover, there are well-endowed agencies for specialized research. A vocation bureau must indeed be, among other things, a research agency; nevertheless, it must depend for some of its most valuable material on other agencies, such as bureaus of labor. Moreover, its work must not duplicate the work of the child-welfare agencies; nor solely promote vocational education — the commissions at work in various cities and States are better equipped for this work. It is the special business of a vocation bureau to organize that conscious and continuous service which takes hold of the child when the life-career motive has been awakened, and helps guide, strengthen, and protect it, par-

ticularly through the transition crisis between school and work.

The employer's help is absolutely essential to the success of such a plan. To fail to profit by his criticism, by his point of view, and his important coöperative possibilities, is to invite failure. The Bureau, therefore, is in close touch with a large number of industrial, commercial, and professional establishments whose officials are in sympathy with its purposes.

In order to promote the employer's contribution to vocational guidance, the Bureau organized in 1912 a conference of employment managers, probably the first organization of the kind. Men representing two-score or more of the important manufacturing and business establishments of Greater Boston, formed, in December, 1912, an Employment Managers' Association, whose objects are defined in its constitution as follows: —

ARTICLE I

NAME AND OBJECT

SECTION 1. The name of this organization shall be the Employment Managers' Association.

SECTION 2. The objects and purposes of the organization shall be: —

1. To discuss problems of employees; their training and their efficiency.

2. To compare experiences which shall throw light on failures and successes in conducting the Employment Department.

3. To invite experts or other persons who have knowledge of the best methods or experiments for ascertaining the qual-

ifications of employees, and providing for their advancement; and more particularly to study the questions connected with the most effective employment of young people.

When employers provide for vocational guidance as schools are now beginning to do, we shall find a basis of coöperation between school and work which will help solve some of the difficulties which now vex both school and occupation.

The main purpose of a vocation bureau, it is obvious, and of all educational and vocational guidance, is the promotion of the social efficiency of those who live by labor. Through fresh devices of service it strives to develop the life-career possibilities latent in the educative process and in the vocations. No undertaking inspired by the spirit of conservation has set before itself a task more difficult, nor more important.



IV

THE ORGANIZATION OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

OBVIOUSLY the carrying out of a plan for vocational guidance must ultimately center in some responsible and competent individual. A committee or an association can do much in stimulating public opinion and in organizing resources. But such work done well requires that it be the special business, indeed, the life-work, of some qualified man or woman.

Undoubtedly, a new profession, that of the vocational counselor, is developing. The conditions of the time call for it, and whatever the volunteer may do in inspiring young people for the serviceable life, it is certain that professional responsibility can alone cope with the many problems in this work. The duties of the person charged with the management of a vocation bureau are various. They cover a wide range of activity and relationship. They call for study, investigation, and energy.

The work of individual guidance is delicate and difficult. Helping to develop purpose, to light the pathway of pursuits, and to shape the careers of the doubting, the eager, and the ambitious, is a task which calls for exceptional qualities of intelligence and consecration. Fortunately, the idea of vocational assist-

ance to young people appeals to all thinking men and women, and it should therefore not be hard, with definite plan and energetic purpose, to secure a large measure of coöperation.

Now, it is essential for any community which undertakes the work of guidance to set before itself the steps to be taken or avoided in this enterprise. Later in this chapter will be discussed some of the dangers and pitfalls which attend the work of vocational guidance. The purpose here is to outline some details of organization and the functions of the vocational counselor, executive director, or whatever may be the name for the person in charge.

The first suggestion to those about to open a vocation bureau is — go slowly. If the right foundations are not laid before actual work in counseling is begun, it is certain that good work cannot be done. At least a year should be devoted to a preliminary investigation of local resources, of the industrial environment, and of the social and vocational problems of the children.

The kind of study to be made is well shown in the following examples: —

CHARTING CHILDHOOD IN CINCINNATI

HELEN THOMPSON WOOLLEY

Director, Child Labor Division, Cincinnati Public Schools

When a pharmacist compounds a prescription, he knows what effect the various elements have on each other. He can analyze them even after they have interacted with the juices

of the human system. When a manufacturer starts a piece of raw material on the road toward a finished product, he can account for the smallest change, the minutest process. But when a child starts on the bleak road which leads from one deadening occupation to another, who can chart his path or gauge the forces that mould and shape his future life?

To do this very thing is becoming one of the paramount purposes of educators. The task is enlisting the interest of all who desire a saner conservation of childhood. The boy and girl who leave school untrained, adolescent, groping, are more and more seen to be the rawest of raw materials. Society's obligation to do its utmost that this material may increase in beauty and efficiency is no longer thought to cease when the school door closes.

One of the most comprehensive attempts to find out just what industry means to children is being made in Cincinnati. This attempt was made possible by the passage of a unique child-labor law, which, for the first time in history, gave to one office sufficient authority over the working children of a community to permit a many-sided study of a large group of them. While this study has not been completed, some absorbing discoveries can be forecasted, entailing some equally absorbing reflections on current educational movements. For example, we are making a special investigation of eight hundred school children, as a result of which we hope to be able to compare the rate of development, mental and physical, of those in industry and those in school. It will then be possible to say what is the effect of industry on children who enter it at fourteen.

The eight hundred boys and girls of whom we are making a special study were fourteen years old when they left school to begin work. All of them were entering some industry, not merely helping at home. All were native-born white children. Except for these characteristics, the children were taken at random, as fast as our office force would permit. We feel sure that the series adequately represents the whole group.

The scope of the investigation includes a study of the mental and physical development of children in industry

as compared with children of corresponding age and grade who stay in school. We are studying in detail the industrial life of the working children. Finally, we are investigating the industries themselves in which the children engage.

It has already been pointed out that we hope to be able to compare the rate of mental and physical development of children in industry with that of children in school. We can also study the children who do not succeed industrially and find out whether their failure is to be attributed to the children themselves, to the home, to the school, or to the industry. By discovering what relation there is, if any, between a child's mental and physical tests and his success or failure in various kinds of industry, we can throw some light on the problem of vocational guidance.

Meanwhile all the records we are collecting about the industrial experiences of the children themselves — the kind of work open to them, their earnings, increases of pay, the amount of unemployment among them, their reasons for changes of position, and their attitude toward work and school — will be indispensable in deciding upon a program of industrial education or of vocational guidance. A study of the industries is equally necessary in both these problems. The information about industries may be cast in the form of bulletins for the use of teachers and parents.

An outline of the work of the Educational and Vocational Guidance Department of the schools of Newton, Massachusetts, recently organized, also illustrates the care with which responsible people undertake vocational-guidance projects in a school system. There are three distinct duties of the department: (1) The charge of all school-attendance records including the school census and the enforcement of school-attendance laws; (2) the granting of work certificates; (3) educational and vocational guidance work. The keeping of chil-

dren in school is considered a most important part of the work and much care is taken in checking up the records each year and investigating children who are not enrolled in the schools.

Considerable guidance work is done in connection with the issuing of work certificates with the result that some children have been persuaded to continue at school. This applies especially to children under sixteen who are carefully questioned in regard to the necessity of going to work and home conditions when they apply for certificates, and this information is checked up by communicating with the principal of the school last attended. With the group over sixteen years of age an endeavor is made to keep track of their progress and advise them particularly against frequent change of position, and to get them interested in evening courses offered either in Newton or Boston which would help them.

Two investigations have been made; one of pupils attending the Newton Evening Schools, and the other of those who had been members of the Vocational School for six months or longer. The purpose of the first study was to ascertain the needs of those attending the evening schools as indicated by their previous school history and industrial record. The connection between the course followed in school and the kinds of work done since leaving school and the success attained were the reasons for the second study. Both investigations have helped in indicating the needs of children for which the department should provide.

A beginning was also made in collecting information concerning high-school courses, and a pamphlet on the courses offered in the Vocational School has been published. The Technical High School published a similar pamphlet on the Fine Arts Course. These pamphlets are for the use of pupils about to leave the grammar grades, and are intended to help them and their parents in deciding which high-school course should be chosen.

Frequent vocational conferences should be held, attended by the representatives of all the interests that may be expected to coöperate. The business man, the manufacturer, the labor-union official, the school-teacher, the attendance officer, and the social worker are all needed in such conferences. It should be made the duty of some committee with a well-paid secretary, who may be regarded as in training for the eventual position of vocational counselor, to make a careful canvass of the educational and vocational opportunities in the town, city, or country, and get into personal relation with working children and their parents in order to understand their problems. Chapters of this vocational survey may be made the topics for discussion at regular meetings. One of the main results of these conferences will be a consensus of opinion as to what is to be done in the proposed vocation bureau. Some will aim for an educational program, some for an apprenticeship arrangement in local industries, and others again for the placing of boys and girls in shops and stores. All these views represent elements of value to the project, but time and patient discussion and knowing the facts can alone develop a program which will receive general support.

It may be that differences of viewpoint will show one party aiming for the short haul of immediate results, and another for the longer haul of social and educational readjustment. No little skill will be required to shape a work which, while serving urgent

and perhaps immediate needs, yet points unhesitatingly toward the infinitely more important task of laboring for the right conditions, the right education, and a public sentiment which will deal constructively with the vocational interests of young people before they become problems.

The person selected to conduct a vocation bureau must possess executive ability, initiative, resourcefulness, and an education which combines academic and industrial knowledge with social-service experience. It may well be that a working man or woman who has earned a college education will be found best qualified. It is also likely that some one occupying a responsible position in a business or educational institution, and possessing social vision as well as keen interest in the problems of youth, may be of the type desired. The method used by the Boston Chamber of Commerce in selecting men as members or paid secretaries for committees is suggestive. A terse and definite plan is laid out for the committee under consideration. The type of man desired and a list of qualifications that he should possess are agreed upon. The names suggested are then marked according to the degree and special fitness for the service in question. A blank form made up for this purpose is used, and those who are given the highest rating are invited to serve.

The type of person suitable for the position of vocational director can as a rule best be determined by the residents of the locality interested. A rural com-

munity or a small town will probably call for qualifications different from those which a city vocation bureau requires. The predominant vocational interests of a community are an important element in determining the type of director. It should be remembered that the committee which chooses its executive is doing a work of vocational guidance, and it must apply, in a sense, the principles which are to guide their own executive in the work.

The relations between the counselor and the applicant cannot be formal, official, or temporary. They must be friendly, intimate, and more or less continuous. What makes the appointment of vocational directors or counselors in schools, settlements, or like organizations so desirable is the opportunity for long contact with individuals. A single interview is seldom sufficient for service that is worth while. Parents and teachers who enjoy years of opportunity for studying the make-up of a boy or girl find it hard enough to ascertain the vocational bent of the child. Prolonged, earnest effort on the part of the counselor is imperative, and a corresponding effort on the part of the applicant, or the service fails of results.

No better example of thorough vocational help can be found than the work of the Vocational Scholarship Committee of the Henry Street Settlement, New York. This committee was organized about five years ago, in order to help children become efficient workers and avoid the "blind alley" trades.

To make it possible for these children to have both guidance and training, this settlement gradually developed the idea of giving scholarships for two years, for definite training to boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, who could legally go to work and whose families could not afford to give them further education than the law requires. This committee has learned the important truth that free schools are a mockery unless children are free to use them.

In 1908 the committee granted one scholarship, the next year this number was increased to five, and since then the work has gradually increased. The committee has given a total of one hundred and twenty-six scholarships during the five years, and fifty-one of these children have completed their course and are now working. Three dollars a week, or one hundred and fifty dollars a year, is the maximum of any one scholarship, which is somewhat less than the child would probably be earning.

Applications for scholarships come from all parts of Manhattan and the Bronx, through club leaders, settlement residents, school-teachers and visitors, the district nurse, charitable societies, and various other sources. At the monthly committee meeting the applications are presented by the secretary, and the committee makes its awards to those children who seem to be in greatest need. The children are advised as to trade training and schools. The girls are being taught dressmaking, millinery, hand-embroidery, sample-

mounting, box-making, costume designing and illustrating, and several are taking commercial courses. The boys are preparing to be carpenters, electricians, printers, and mechanics. Some children are kept in the elementary schools until they graduate before they are entered in the trade school.

Records are carefully kept of the fifty-one children who have finished their training and have gone to work. The comparison of their wages with those of fifty-one children of the same age, taken from the records of the Alliance Employment Bureau, which places children carefully, is a most interesting one, and proves conclusively, at least for this small number, that the children who have had two years of training are able to earn a much higher wage than those who go to work without any previous training. The average wages of the untrained children who have been working six months is \$4.30 a week, and that of the trained children, \$6.85. Of the children working one year the average wage of those unskilled is \$5.10; that of the trained children, \$9.50. Of the children working two years the average wage of the untrained children is \$5.85; that of the trained children, \$10.24.

That all guidance and training activities will some day be supplemented by provisions for economic assistance, nobody who cares for children can doubt. The work at Henry Street is prophetic. Children that must work cannot enjoy that equality of opportunity which our publicly supported school system implies.

Of special importance is the economic equipment of the counselor. Guesswork and vague generalizations about social problems and conditions of employment will properly discredit the work. An essential element in the counselor's service is expert knowledge of what is going on in a store, factory, or office. He must investigate, interpret, and know how to apply vocational facts.

At present it is doubtful whether psychological tests of the ordinary sort can be used to much advantage by the counselor. Laboratory psychology is not far enough advanced to enable one to fathom bent and aptitude by formal tests of concentration, sensitivity, imagination, and the like.

With the progress of research, evidence of lines of strength and weakness in various psychological tests will become more and more useful to the counselor. Since the first edition of this book was issued, five years ago, the early diagnosis of general intellectual ability of the abstract type, such as is required of scientific workers, lawyers, and teachers, has been made more feasible by certain investigations, notably those of Spearman and Thorndike and their pupils. Tests of important features of clerical capacity — such as ability to observe, compare, arrange, and judge items of words, numbers, and the like rapidly and accurately — have been put in shape by Thorndike for actual use in the selection of employees. It appears that if facilities for competent research are provided, the general

[illegible]

decision concerning relative fitness for (1) advanced education for expert scientific, technical, or professional service; (2) clerical or office work; and (3) mechanical or trade and factory work can be based in part upon a psychological inventory taken as early as the age of fifteen. The matter of fitness for (4) work at influencing men, as in salesmanship or executive work, is still more difficult to measure in childhood, but even here systematic tests of early symptoms of efficiency may be devised that will be of practical service in connection with the general history, provided it be systematically secured, of the individual's abilities, interests, and training.

Mental measurements in vocational guidance [writes Professor Carl Seashore] have their chief value with reference to the more highly specialized vocations. This is so mainly for the reason that measurement to be effective must be specific and intensive. We do not measure "things in general." If a boy is brought into my laboratory to find out what he should do in life, he is turned away for the more specific formulation of his problem. But if he asks what qualifications he has for this or that specific occupation, we can in some instances furnish him correspondingly specific information. Thus, if he aspires to be a musician, his musical talents may be measured with the utmost care. We have a special equipment for that purpose and can make as many as one hundred specific measurements, all parts of a fairly complete system, for the survey of musical talent.

We measure his natural capacity for hearing pitch, time, and intensity of sound, and his natural power in producing these by voice or instrument. Then we measure his musical imagery, memory, association, and judgment, and analyze the character of his musical feeling, both by subjective and objective tests. In all these cases our interest is directed to

natural, inherited capacity as opposed to acquired ability or skill.

From these measurements we construct a musical "talent chart," which is a picture in which the expert, the teacher, and even the youth himself, can see at a glance a quantitative outline of his musical qualifications. There are the reasons for or against entering upon a musical career, so far as natural capacity, and, therefore, the chances of success are concerned. There is seen which kind of music he is best qualified for, what are his prospects for the speedy acquisition of skill in each of the fundamental aspects of music, and the phase he needs to give special attention to. If he is already in the vocation and has encountered difficulties, there is a qualitative analysis of the conditions of his case.

With reference to qualifications for more general occupations, the measurement can, of course, not be made so exhaustive, but certain psychophysics tests may well be made to determine if there is any defect which would seriously stand in the way of success in a chosen career.

A thorough acquaintance with local and other coöperating resources is needed by the counselor, and his facility in connecting the appropriate resources with the needs of the individual applicant will count for much in his work. The bureau can only in the course of years and with a large expenditure of money become the repository for every kind of information that may be called for. An important part of the counselor's program is the skillful utilization of existing sources of information and service. There are men and women in almost every occupation who would be willing to coöperate with the bureau, serving as special advisers and perhaps employers for selected individuals. It is not to be supposed that the bureau director can master

the important details of every pursuit. Problems may arise with reference to the ability or the circumstances of some particular young man or young woman, and the help of a representative of the trade or profession in question, acting as a vocational "big brother," will prove of great value.

The guidance of youth in vocations cannot, of course, confine its outlook to the mechanical or commercial alone. The multiplication of vocational schools, including those in medicine, dentistry, and law; the inferior standards and the pecuniary motives of many of them; and the overcrowding of the liberal professions by the unfit and the ill-equipped, give rise to questions of the gravest character in advising as to these careers. Professor Felix Adler has said that one of the difficulties he has encountered in advising young men was in impressing them with the gap between their admiration and their endowments for a vocation. The counselor's duty of stimulating is great, but it is primarily his business to deal with facts.

There is an important literature which the counselor must familiarize himself with. Vocational handbooks such as *Trades for London Boys*, and *Trades for London Girls*, Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon's *Handbook of Employments*, and others, may be found in the public libraries and should be part of every school and counselor's library. Unfortunately, we have not as yet in this country a sufficient variety of cheap and practical vocational primers giving the results of expert study of

occupations similar to those published in various German and English cities. One series of tiny booklets published in Leipzig, and costing not more than a few cents apiece, covers almost one hundred different vocations, — the chemist, the tinsmith, the teacher, the merchant, the cook, the waiter, the druggist, the farmer, the sailor, the tapestry-maker, and many others. *What am I To Be?* is the title of this series. The London County Council pamphlets are models of their kind.¹

The Boston Vocation Bureau vocational booklets present the results of investigations in the following way: —

VOCATIONS FOR BOSTON BOYS

Nature of Occupation. *Shoe Manufacture.*

Date of inquiry. *July 1, 1910.*

Name of Firm — — —

Address — — —

Superintendent or Employment Manager — — —

Total number of employees { Male, 2730.
Female, 2280.

Number of boys, 1200; girls, 1000.

Has there been a shifting in relative numbers of each? *No.*

There is fixed work for each.

PAY

Wages of various groups, and ages. *Errand boys, counters, carriers, 14 years old, \$3.50; assemblers, assistants, pattern boys, 16 years, \$3.50 to \$6; lasters, 20 years, \$6 to \$7; other work, 20 years or more, \$8 to \$12 for young men in early employment.*

Wages at beginning. *\$3.50 to \$6.*

Seasonal. *By year.*

¹ See Appendix.

Hours per day. *7.30 A.M. to 5.30 P.M. To 12 M. on Saturday in summer. One hour nooning.*

Rate of increase. *This is very irregular, averaging \$1 per week each year.*

- a. On what dependent? *Not at all on age, but on ability and position filled, or on increase in skill in a certain process.*
- b. Time or piece payment — any premiums or bonus? *66% piece payment. Premium on certain lines for quality and quantity of work, neatness of departments, etc.*

BOYS

How are boys secured? *By application to firm, by advertising, and by employees. It is impossible to find enough.*

Their ages. *Fourteen years and up.*

Previous jobs. *Nearly all boys come into this industry from school. A few come from other shoe factories, or from retail shoe stores.*

Previous schooling. *Grammar school, or a certificate of literacy or attendance at night school must be presented.*

Are any continuing this training? *Yes. Where? In public evening schools, Y.M.C.A. classes, and Continuation School in Boston.*

THE INDUSTRY

- a. Physical conditions. *Most sanitary, with modern improvements and safeguards, with hospital department and trained nurses.*
- b. What variety of skill required? *Some mechanical skill. The ordinary boy of good sense can easily learn all processes.*
- c. Description of processes (photos if possible). *Errand boys, counters, carriers, assemblers, assistants, pattern boys, lasters, trimmers, and work dieing, welting, and ironing shoes. Also in office, salesman, foreman, manager, or superintendent.*
- d. What special dangers.
Machinery. The chief danger arises from carelessness.
Dust. Modern dust removers are used.
Moisture. Not to excess.

Hard labor. *Steady labor rather than hard.*

Strain. *Not excessive.*

Monotony. *Considerable on automatic machines.*

Competitive conditions of industry. *New England is a great center of the shoe industry. There is extreme competition, but with a world market.*

Future of industry. *The future of a staple product in universal demand.*

What chance for grammar-school boy? *He would begin at the bottom as errand boy.*

High-school graduate? *In office, or in wholesale department, to become salesman, or manager.*

Vocational-school graduate? *Trade school, giving factory equipment, would be best.*

What opportunity for the worker to show what he can do in other departments? *The superintendent and foreman study the boy and place him where it seems best for him and for the firm.*

TESTS

What kind of boy is desired? *Honest, bright, healthy, strong. Boys living at home are preferred.*

What questions asked of applicant? *As to home, education, experience, and why leaving any former position.*

What tests applied? *For office work, writing, and figuring.*

What records kept? *(Collect all printed questionnaires and records.) Name, address, age, nationality, married or single, living at home or boarding, pay, date of entering and of leaving.*

Union or non-union? *Open shop.*

Comment of employer. *Education is better for the boy and for us.*

Will he take boys sent by Vocation Bureau? *Yes.*

Will he attend Vocation Bureau conferences if asked? *Gladly.*

Comment of foreman. *Employment bureaus have failed us. We look everywhere for boys, but find few such as we want. The average boy can apply himself here so as to be well placed in life.*

Comment of boys. *We have a bowling-alley, reading-room, and library, park, and much to make service here pleasant. It is something like school still. We mean to stay. Piece-work will give us good pay by the time we are twenty years old.*

Health Board comments. *Inhaling naphtha from cements and dust from leather-working machines, and overcrowding and overheating workrooms, are to be guarded against in this occupation. The danger of each injurious process may be prevented by proper care.*

Census Bureau Report on this Occupation, Massachusetts, 1908

Number of establishments	Capital invested.	Value of stock.	Wages paid.	Average earnings.	Males employed.	Females.	Value of product.
418	\$35,360,028	\$104,171,804	\$38,969,498	\$932.59	46,008	23,187	\$169,357,116

Bibliography, *The Shoe Manufacturing Industry in New England*. I. K. Bailey (*New England States*, v. 1, 1897), and *Massachusetts Labor Bulletin*, No. 14, May, 1910.

School fitting for this occupation. *The Boston Continuation School.*

Investigator.

This information gathered from these cards has been transcribed into narrative form for the use of teachers, and portions of some specimen bulletins are here given:—

BANKING

In the lowest position in banking, that of errand boy, boys receive \$4 and \$5 a week. For regular messenger service the pay begins at \$6 a week or \$300 a year, increasing, on an average, at the rate of \$100 a year. Young men as check-tellers, clerks, bookkeepers, and bond salesmen receive from

\$800 to \$1000 a year. The average bank employee in Boston receives \$1100 a year. Tellers, who must be responsible and able men of thirty years or over, have salaries ranging from \$2200 to \$3300.

Savings banks pay somewhat higher salaries and offer a better future to one who must remain in the ranks of the business.

Bank officers receive higher salaries now than bank presidents did twenty years ago. Officers and heads of departments in a banking-house are not always taken from the employees; they are often selected by a firm from its acquaintance in the banking world.

Rarely are boys employed in the banking industry under sixteen years of age, which is the more general age for entering. Some firms will not employ them under nineteen years of age on account of the great responsibility of the messenger service. Boys must be gentlemanly, neat-appearing, intelligent, honest, business-like, and able to concentrate their minds upon their daily work.

The ordinary high-school education is the general requirement for banking. Some boys enter the business without completing the high-school courses, but are consequently often unable to make proper advancement. Courses in business schools are desirable, and one should have fair training in mathematics and bookkeeping and be a good penman. In one banking-house investigated, having 195 employees, there were but three college graduates, one being the cashier. Banking men wish that this condition were different, but believe that it is best for those who enter the occupation to do so early in life. A second reason for this is that the average pay of the bank employee does not appeal to the college man.

The physical conditions of the occupation are of the highest grade. There is moral danger to young men on the speculative side of the stock and bond business, and no broker is allowed to receive orders from a clerk of another firm.

There is keen competition among national banks and trust companies in bidding for deposits, and in the stock and bond business for speculation and investment. There is little com-

petition among savings banks and coöperative banks. These have their lists of depositors, and interest rates are controlled by business conditions.

The business of the future in all lines will be excellent because of the vital connection of the banking business with the money system of the country, and with all lines of activity in the financial and industrial world.

Comments by people in the business

"Messenger service is the first stepping-stone in banking. A boy should realize that here lies his opportunity. The careless messenger will be a careless bookkeeper or clerk and an unsuccessful bank man."

"The chances of a boy are better in some respects in the small bank than in the large one. In the small bank one learns all parts of the business and has a much better future. The successful men in such firms are often chosen as officers in the large firms."

"Bank combinations in Boston in recent years have given prominence to men who had achieved success in their smaller field, or in their particular form of banking experience."

"Service in a bank is educational, even if one does not remain, in methods and mental training. But the person who goes out in middle life finds it difficult to get a position in the business world."

"A boy should get into the credit department of a banking house, where he may come in contact with the cashier or president."

"Savings banks do not generally take boys direct from school. Age, maturity, and some kind of business experience are desired."

"Investment in stocks and bonds is a great business and calls for high intelligence."

"Character comes first, for banking is a business of continual trusting in men. Banks are willing to pay for honesty, energy, brains, and good judgment."

"Banking calls for ability to judge human nature and to carry many details in mind, for accurate and rapid thought, and for clear and firm decision."

"Every consolidation brings a search for the best men, and every bank is looking for the right kind of young man."

"There is a good future in the banking business in all its departments, owing to the great development of this country in industrial and commercial lines."

CONFECTIONERY MANUFACTURE

This study of the industry deals with the manufacture of confectionery under modern conditions in large establishments which employ from one hundred to one thousand people. The facts and conditions presented are in the main such as prevail in the general industry in New England.

The health conditions of candy-making are favorable in the large establishments. In the smaller and older ones unfavorable conditions prevail. Some rooms in which candies are cooled are kept regularly below normal temperature, while others, in which mixing takes place, are above normal temperature. There is some danger from machinery, and discomfort, if not danger, from steam and heat.

In this industry, in various factories, there are employed from three to six times as many girls as boys. The girls perform hand processes in the making of candies, and do the work of boxing and labeling. The proportion of boys being relatively so small, there is greater opportunity for them to rise to the responsible positions.

The big factories employ many boys, because there is so much work that they can do, and because men generally are unwilling to work at the wages paid in this occupation. In the factories investigated, one half of the male employees were found to be under twenty-one years of age.

Pay at the beginning varies from \$3 to \$6, according to the age of the boy and the particular work done. Boys act as helpers and assistants, shippers, mixers, and boilers; the more difficult processes are performed by men. Pay in the positions enumerated varies from \$3, the lowest sum paid at the beginning, to \$12. The average increase per week each year is \$1.25. Young men of eighteen or twenty years who remain permanently in the occupation earn from \$12 to \$15 a week. As foreman of a room, a man earns \$18 or \$20 a week.

In the mixing processes and the general industry very many Italians are employed, because of their quickness and the adaptability of the race to this kind of work.

In some establishments a few boys are regularly trained as apprentices to learn the entire business; such become foremen, superintendents, traveling salesmen, and managers.

Boys begin at the age of fourteen in this industry. They must be clean, bright, quick, and strong. Most boys entering live at home, as is the case in industries paying low wages at the beginning. While no special education is necessary, one must have the usual attendance at the grammar school, or present a certificate of literacy. With some firms a knowledge of chemistry is an advantage in the manufacturing department.

It is an industry in which the educational requirement is small, and the most important qualities desired are neatness and quickness.

Comments of the people in the industry

"There is a fair chance for the advancement of a boy or young man; vacancies are regularly filled by selecting from employees who have shown their industry and ability."

"From the nature of the business and the number of factories in and about Boston, the chance for steady employment of a fair per cent of young men who have learned the work is very good. One should become acquainted with all departments, serving some time in each if he wishes to become master of the occupation and earn good pay. He should work also in several factories."

"It is a good occupation for one who masters it thoroughly. People outside have no conception of the magnitude of the candy business."

"Boys with push and health may become able to earn a good living; those with fair education may reach the higher positions. A boy must have the quality of perseverance and interest himself thoroughly in his work. There is more demand than ever for mental ability, for mind put into one's work."

"A former luxury is becoming a necessity and the candy-making business offers a fairly good future for a boy or young man."

THE LANDSCAPE ARCHITECT

Landscape architecture deals with plans and designs for the laying out of public and private parks and grounds and city planning. It is allied to architecture, horticulture, and civil engineering.

The health conditions of this occupation are excellent. To his indoor work the landscape architect adds the variety and exhilaration of working out of doors. He has steadily before him an ideal of form and beauty in his own undertakings as well as continual contact with them in the work of other men.

Indoor work, which is mainly planning, writing, and drafting, runs quite steadily through the year; outdoor work is done mainly in the summer. Young men must expect little if any field work at the start.

To some the only drawback in the profession is that of travel, a great deal of which is necessary for practicing landscape architects. On the other hand, steady confinement indoors is surely a disadvantage.

In this industry there is not such keen competition as is found in commercial lines. Contracts calling for the better grades of work are not awarded as the results of solicitation; business comes to a firm mainly because of its reputation. Both landscape architecture and civil engineering, allied industries, are steadily increasing their fields of activity. The profession of landscape architecture has grown greatly in recent years, yet there are few large firms. It is one of the most modern and promising of occupations.

While there are neither many nor large firms in the country, in the vaults of one firm investigated lie copies of twenty thousand drawings for work actually done.

Success in landscape architecture depends on the individual or firm that can do good work and make it known to the public.

The landscape architect bears the same relation to the landscape contractor as the architect bears to the building

contractor. The landscape contractor executes the plans and designs prepared by the landscape architect, under the supervision of his representative on the grounds, usually a civil engineer or planting superintendent.

Older terms for the profession are "landscape engineer" and "landscape gardener." Landscape gardening now has to do especially with the planting side of the profession, and boys prepare for it by employment with a landscape architect and by field work.

Wages for boys entering this vocation range from \$4 to \$6 and \$7. Such wages usually cover the period of learning the occupation. A young man who has taken a school course in the profession may enter at \$10 or more. While learning, a draftsman receives about the same pay as in architectural offices, from \$9 to \$12 a week, and a planting department clerk \$12 per week; an assistant in the field from \$8 to \$10, and a superintendent of outdoor work \$15.

Beyond those positions when young men have served a period of learning of four or five years, pay increases steadily, quite equaling that received in building architecture, and averaging from \$1000 to \$1800 per year. As in all lines of business, advancement and success depend upon personal ability, thoroughness of training, and business conditions.

Pay in the profession, while generally stated by employer and employee in the figures given above, is usually computed by the hour, especially for indoor work.

The usual age for entering is sixteen years; a boy younger than this would have no opportunity except as office boy. One must expect to give the years between sixteen and twenty to learning the profession, earning only enough for living expenses. Most boys found in such an occupation live at home.

One should have ability in drawing, taste in design, an accurate mind, good sense, and good eyesight. A boy should be strong, of good habits, and of normal physique.

A high-school education is the least requirement. Most boys entering landscape architecture in Boston and vicinity come from the Mechanic Arts High School, the Institute of Technology, Harvard University, Bussey Institute, and the

Worcester Polytechnic Institute. One must be well trained in mathematics, surveying, and drafting. A knowledge of plants is an advantage in all cases, and with some firms an essential.

Many students use their school or college vacation for studying the profession with a landscape architect, thus getting practical field work to supplement their school courses.

Comments of people in the industry

"It is a profession demanding hard work with long hours and much painstaking service for moderate financial returns. Most who go into it do so for love of the occupation."

"The work is in part of an advisory nature, necessitating investigation, which is the opportunity of young men. They draw up plans and direct the execution of them by contractors."

"Teach a boy drawing, no matter what he can do or what occupation he may enter. It trains the mind and hand and is of help always."

"Conditions have changed greatly in recent years. The Metropolitan Commissions pay a higher price for a shorter season and sometimes draw young men away from architects' offices."

"Better be a first-rate grocer than a second-rate landscape architect. One must think carefully before entering this profession, so that he may not put in three or four years and find himself not fitted for it."

"This occupation opens the door to a congenial work and gives one broad views and interests in life."

Outline of the Vocation Bureau's study of the department store

THE DEPARTMENT STORE

1. Its nature.
2. From the public point of view.
3. The rise of the department store.
4. Competition.
5. Future.
6. Method of treatment.

7. Chart of department-store organization.
8. Four major divisions.
9. Departments of merchandise.
10. The general manager.
11. The board of managers.

MERCHANDISING OR BUYING:

1. The receiving-room.
Positions.
2. The marking-room.
Positions.
3. The stockroom.
Positions.
4. The division of buying:
Positions.
The buyer.
The assistant buyer.
The merchandise manager.
Assistant merchandise manager.
Diagram of the merchandise department.
The boy in the merchandise department.
Age.
Positions.
Pay.
Advancement.

SUPERINTENDING AND SELLING:

- A. Divisions and positions in this double department:
 1. Employment office.
 2. Floor superintending.
 3. Selling.
 4. The educational department.
 5. The division of expense.
 6. The division of supply and construction.
 7. The mail order department.
 8. The delivery system.
- B. The more important positions and features of superintending and selling:
 1. The store manager.
 2. Diagram of store management.

3. The store superintendent.
4. The floor manager.
5. Requirements for successful salesmanship.
6. Diagram of salesmanship requirements.
7. The boy in the selling department.
 - Age.
 - Positions.
 - Pay.
 - Advancement.
8. The basis of pay in selling.

THE OFFICE DEPARTMENT:

1. Its nature.
2. Simple office divisions.
3. Divisions in office work in the highly organized store.
 - (1) Credit and collection department.
 - (2) Charge account bookkeeping.
 - (3) The cashier's office or accounting-room.
 - (4) The C.O.D. division.
 - (5) The auditing department.
 - (6) The purchase records department.
 - (7) The payment department.
 - (8) The stock record department.
 - (9) The statistical department.
4. Diagram of the office department.
5. Positions in the office department in the highly organized store.
6. The bookkeeper.
7. An actual case of advancement.
8. The boy in the office department.
 - Age.
 - Positions.
 - Pay.
 - Advancement.

THE ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT:

1. Its nature.
2. The modern trend.
3. Divisions in store advertising.

4. Positions.
5. Diagram of the advertising department.
6. The advertising manager.
7. Important assistant position.
8. The boy in the advertising department.
 - Age.
 - Positions.
 - Pay.
 - Advancement.
9. Work producing advertising men.

CONDITIONS OF SERVICE:

1. Hours of employment.
2. Seasonal increase in trade.
3. Diagram of seasonal changes.
4. Seasonal increase and decrease in the number of employees.
5. Vacation.
6. Physical conditions.
7. Influences making for fatigue.
8. Competition in service.
9. Where the way divides.

WELFARE WORK:

1. The nature of this work.
2. Three lines of opportunity.
 - A. Educational:
 - The school of salesmanship.
 - B. Administrative:
 - (1) Efficiency bulletins.
 - (2) Merchandise conferences.
 - (3) Efficiency records.
 - (4) School enrollment.
 - C. Social:
 - (1) A mutual aid association.
 - (2) An insurance or mutual benefit association.
 - (3) A savings deposit system.
 - (4) A medical department.
 - (5) The lecture committee.

- (6) The library committee.
- (7) The suggestion committee.
- (8) The entertainment committee.
- (9) The clubhouse committee.
- (10) The music committee.
- (11) A store paper.
- (12) Workers in this division.
- (13) A sample daily club report.

THE EMPLOYEE, PAY, AND PROMOTION:

- 1. Suggestions from an employer to boys who may wish to enter this occupation.
 - Personal appearance.
 - Past record.
 - Courtesy.
 - Perseverance.
 - Don't be overlooked.
- 2. Some qualities required.
- 3. Educational training required, or of value.
- 4. Two main lines of progress, quoted from a department store paper.
- 5. Pay.
- 6. Promotion.
- 7. Advice from a store manager.
- 8. Actual cases of advancement.
- 9. Quotation from a government investigation.

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL:

- 1. Summary of positions:
 - Members of the firm or corporation, or high officials.
 - The merchandise department.
 - Superintending and selling.
 - The office department.
 - The advertising department.
- 2. Positions not distinctive to the department store.
 - The furrier.
 - The store detective.
 - Additional activities.
 - Heads of factories.

DIAGRAM OF THE ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

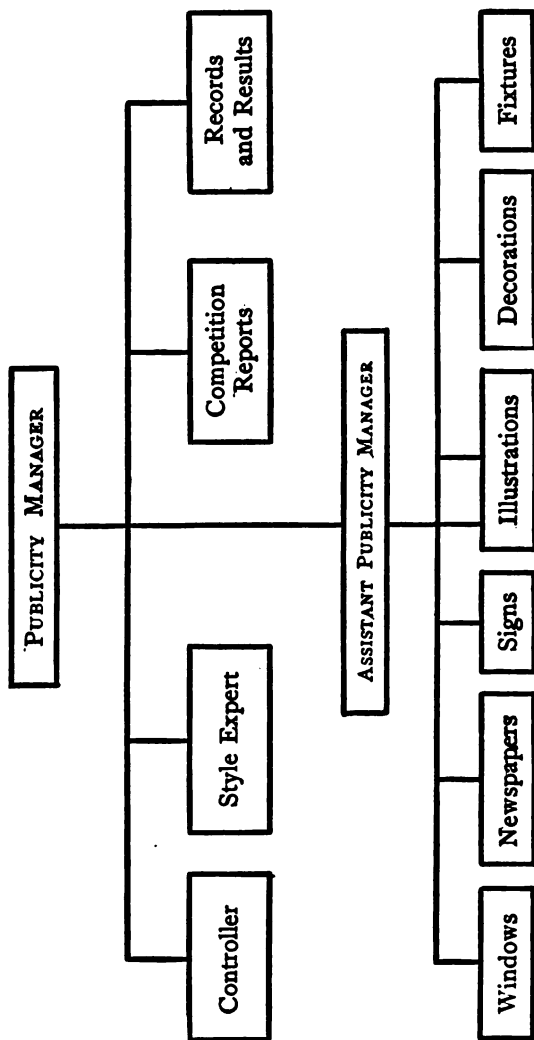
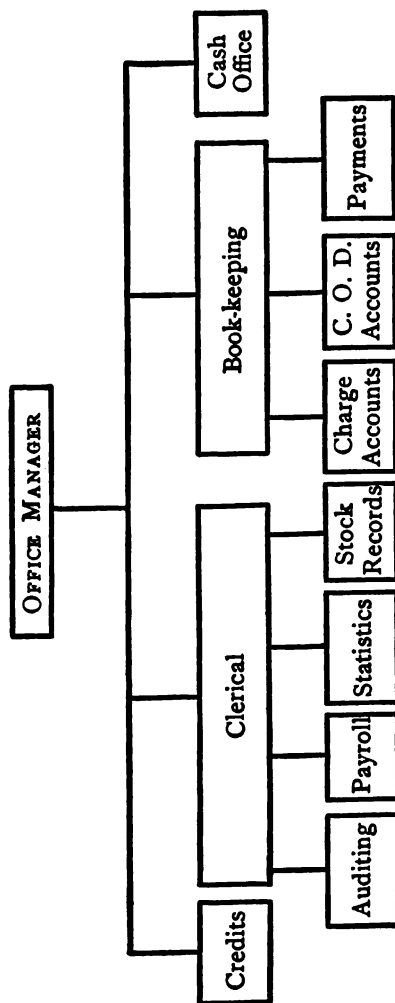


DIAGRAM OF THE OFFICE DEPARTMENT



3. Bibliography.

4. A list of periodicals:

- A. Devoted mainly to merchandising.
- B. Devoted mainly to advertising and selling.
- C. Devoted mainly to office work.
- D. Magazine articles.

5. Institutions giving advanced courses for mercantile pursuits.

Diagram of salesmanship requirements

EFFICIENT SALESMANSHIP				
Good taste in dress and manners	Full compliance with the store system	Thorough knowledge of merchandise	Keen sense of responsibility to the store for results	Genuine desire to satisfy the customer

The boy in the selling department

A boy usually enters this department between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, at pay ranging from \$3 to \$4.50 a week, and with a maximum of \$5 in simple duties before promotion. He will first act as floor boy or stock boy. After one or two years he may be promoted to be inspector, with a maximum of \$6 a week. After several years he may become a salesman, with pay ranging from \$10 to \$20, except in the rare cases of great ability in certain lines of selling. A general progress in selling is, first, on cotton goods, then woolen goods, silks, linens, housekeeping goods, furniture, and draperies. This progress from one class of goods to another is not at all fixed, and salespeople are transferred according to the changing demands of departments. The pay of the salesman in the dry-goods store is on the average a little higher than found in the general department store. The salesman may become floor superintendent, with pay ranging from \$20 to \$30 a week. From his knowledge of stock he may pass into the merchandise department as assistant buyer, with possible advance to buyer or merchandise manager.

The basis of pay in selling

While it may be said that pay follows the law of supply and demand in the department-store field, the regular wage of employees is based upon what they are worth in the view of the store management. In the selling department of some stores a certain amount of sales constitutes a "quota" which varies according to the selling sections. The sales made by any one person are expected to reach this quota, to warrant a fixed standard of pay. Often the sales-person receives a percentage of the excess above the quota of his section. Suppose one's sales to total above \$150 a week, the selling clerk may receive three per cent of the excess. Again, in some stores all selling clerks receive a percentage, as one half of one per cent, on all sales made during the holiday season.

Before long an awakened interest in vital vocational information may yet regard such publications as deserving of a place in the school and college curriculum. Until the educational authorities take up this task, however, it will remain the privilege of far-sighted philanthropy and private enterprise to make available such practical knowledge of the occupations.

The duties of the counselor outlined in this chapter must impress one as sufficient to absorb the working hours of any individual. One of the very first provisions must be for the training of assistants in research and advising. These may be paid or volunteer workers. The experiences gained in a vocation bureau are so valuable that persons of superior qualifications may be interested to enlist in such tangible social service.

Eventually the fruits of private initiative in vocational guidance must lead to the establishing of school

DIAGRAM OF STORE MANAGEMENT

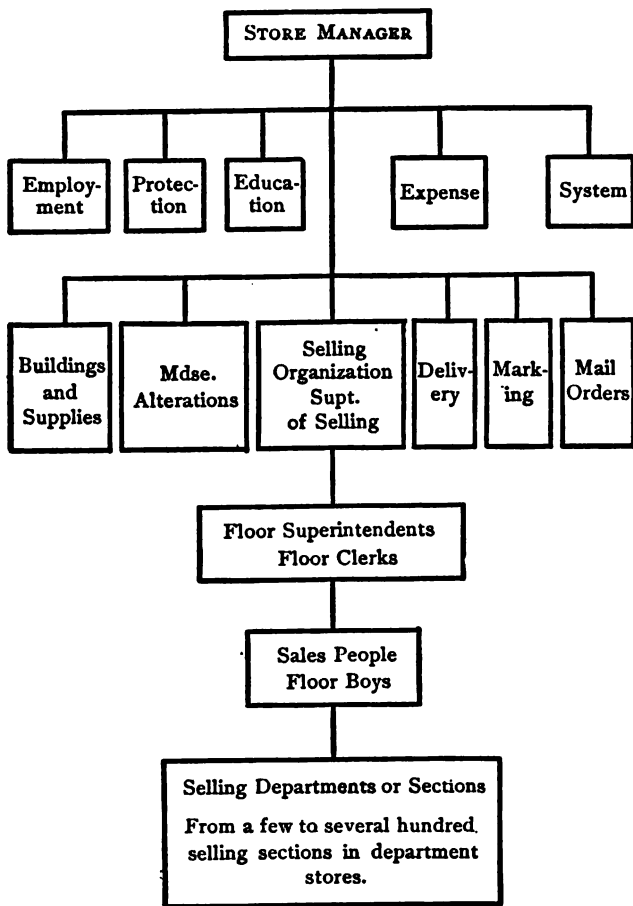


DIAGRAM OF THE MERCHANDISE DEPARTMENT

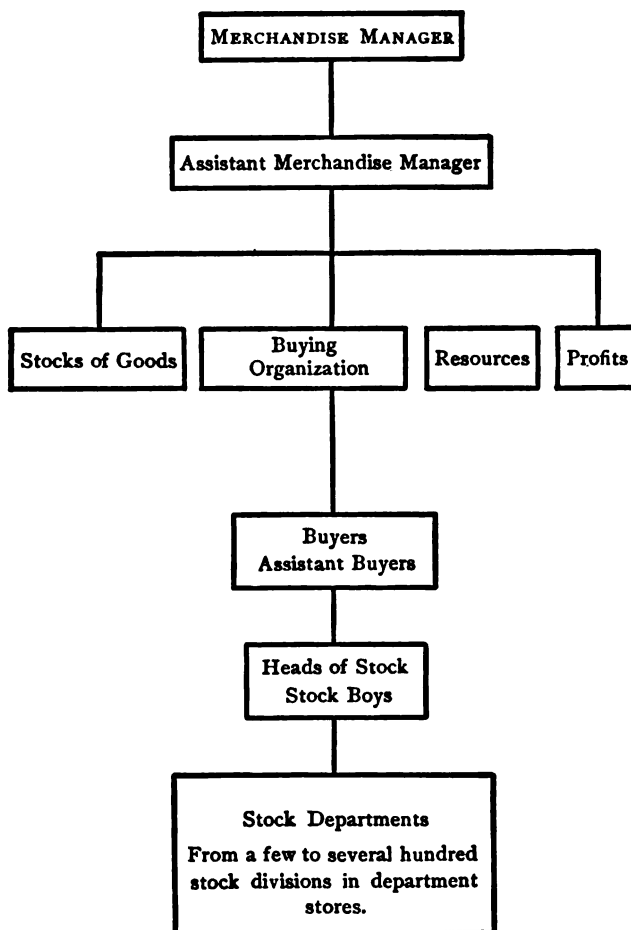
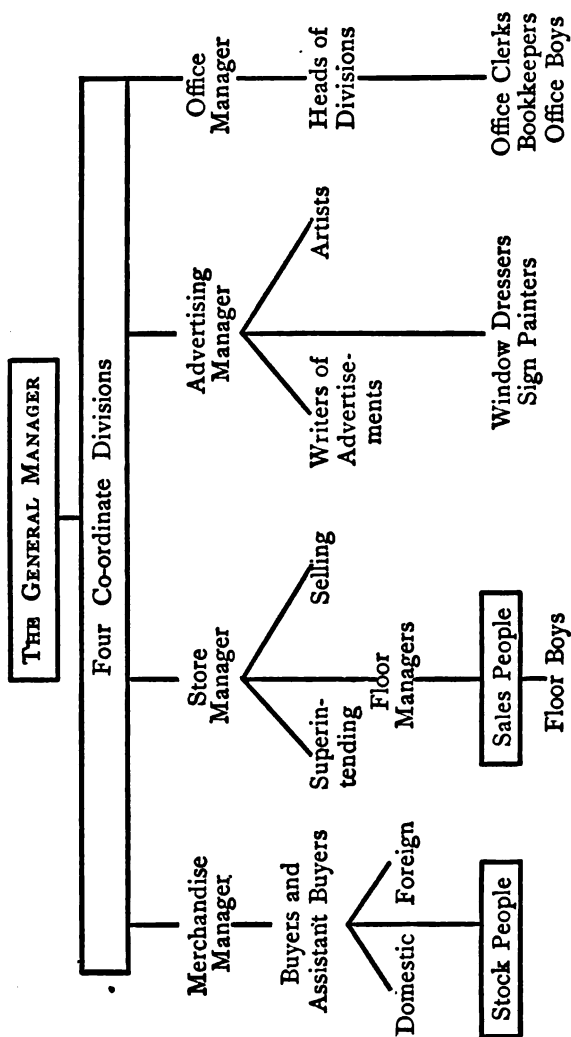


CHART OF DEPARTMENT STORE ORGANIZATION



and public vocation bureaus and to courses of preparation for this specialized service in normal and professional schools. Such courses are already given in several leading universities. Here is the outline of the Boston University course: —

COURSE IN VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

Objects:

- (a) To provide instruction and practical training in the duties of vocational counselors in schools, philanthropic agencies, and business establishments.
- (b) To afford opportunity for the study, under direction, of vocational problems in education and educational problems in employment.
- (c) To open the way for contributions, based on reading, research, and service, toward more socially effective material and processes in education and employment.
- (d) To enable school departments to undertake tentative experiments in vocational guidance.

Methods — Topics:

- Lectures — conferences — reading — research — field work — reports.
- I. Vocational guidance as a modern social problem.
 - (a) The need for vocational guidance.
 - (b) Agencies for vocational guidance.
 - (c) The chief problems of vocational guidance.
 - (d) Terminology.
 - II. Elements in the choice of a vocation. Foundations in vocational efficiency.
 - (a) General survey.
 - (b) Educational influences.
 - (c) Social influences.
 - (d) Economic influences.
 - III. Factors in vocational guidance.
 - (a) General survey.
 - (b) The occupations.

- (1) The study of occupations for vocational guidance purposes.
- (2) Scientific management and scientific placement.
- (3) Hiring, promotion, and discharge.
- (c) The individual.
- (d) Agencies for employment.
 - (1) The labor exchanges.
 - (2) Juvenile employment and after-care committees.
 - (3) Placement agencies.
- (e) Educational readjustments.
- (f) Coöperative effort.
- IV. The practice of vocational guidance.
 - (a) In schools.
 - (b) In vocation bureaus and other agencies: in industry.
 - (1) The duties and equipment of a vocational counselor.
 - (2) The technique of vocational guidance.
 - (3) Problems: case work.
- V. Summary and cautions — Review and literature.
- VI. Methods of organization.

Related practical work (optional):

- Part I. Study of vocational agencies by prearranged visits.
- Part II. Assignment to an elementary, high, or vocational school, in coöperation with the school counselor.
- Part III. Assignment to a factory or mercantile establishment in coöperation with employment manager, and educational or welfare manager.

A question which constantly arises in vocation bureau work is its relation to employment and to employment agencies. Our discussion thus far should have made clear the fundamental aims of a vocation bureau. An office for individual counseling and for studying the problems of social and educational readjustment will need very large resources to superadd an employ-

ment office. This latter is no small business, and requires far more investigation and study than are ordinarily given. While a vocation bureau gladly finds many incidental occasions to suggest openings for its applicants, it will fail of its purpose if its larger, constructive functions become sidetracked. A specially organized department, such as is discussed in a later chapter, is necessary for considerable employment work, but there can be and should be the closest co-operation between a vocation bureau and employment service of any kind. Employment managers of large stores and factories should be kept in touch with the vocation bureau, not only for the benefit of those who, under proper conditions, may be referred to them for work, but chiefly because the adoption of vocation bureau methods and ideals in industry may ultimately become such bureau's largest contribution to social welfare.

The progress of vocational guidance cannot be expected to go on free of errors and mishap. Differences of opinion as to what such work should be, as to what are its proper aims and standards and how to carry them out, must necessarily give varied phases to the movement. Local application of the bureau idea will differ in different localities, and, doubtless, there will be much to learn and much to undo.

Not found wanting will be the exploiter and the charlatan, advertising vocational guidance as the patent key to success. Every community will have to

be on guard against snares of this sort; no idea more easily lends itself to harmful exploitation.

At what age shall vocational suggestion and guidance begin in the school? Professor Paul H. Hanus, who was chairman of the Massachusetts Commission on Industrial Education, has with reference to vocational training answered the question also for vocational guidance. The years up to fourteen, he maintains, should be enriched with all that a broad and liberal curriculum can give. From fourteen to sixteen years, differentiation, not specialization, in school work may take place along the lines of the probable occupations of the boys who are not going to a classical high school or college, and with regard to the predominant industries of the locality. This in order to develop general vocational intelligence. Prior to the fourteenth year, however, it is desirable that school work include vocational enlightenment; for example, talks on familiar trades and professions, excursions by classes or groups of children to shops, stores, offices, and vocational schools, and manual training.

Applying these suggestions to guidance in the elementary schools, there is first a fundamental need of stimulating the ideal of vocational purpose. School work inspired by the "life-career motive" is the ideal of all progressive educators. As thousands of children will for some time, unfortunately, go to work from the grammar school, the vocational director or the school counselor, where they are appointed (as in Boston),

should get into touch with the boys and girls and their parents in order to work out gradually the question of the least objectionable occupation, if, indeed, there be any choice. The most important part of this work, however, will be in the endeavor to find a way to continue the appropriate schooling of these boys and girls. In time legislation rather than advice will have to be relied on to protect the futures of these children.

The vocational decision, when made, should represent, of course, the conclusion reached by the boy or girl, young man or woman, or by any one who may be receiving advice. Decision is not the business of the counselor, but that of the applicant. The counselor is there for suggestion, inspiration, and coöperation. The over-zealous school counselor who "prescribes" vocations is quite likely to commit the error of forcing decisions on children prematurely, and perhaps driving them to work.

Without a genuine personal touch, then, the counselor's service to the applicant cannot be very valuable. Human beings, not "cases," are before him, and therefore a mechanical treatment of bureau problems is intolerable. If the possession of accurate vocational information is desirable, no less so is the giving it without bias. A counselor prejudiced in favor of a particular line of pursuits, be they industrial, academic, or what not, is vitiating his usefulness. No vocation bureau can fulfill its mission which leans toward one or

another of the occupations. Its business is to deal with the facts, impartially and responsibly.

An even more serious indictment would be the dispensing with the program of analytical and educational effort on the part of the applicant, and converting the bureau into an office for a short cut to jobs. Some employers will be found ready to take advantage of any laxity in the bureau's standards. When a vocation bureau degenerates into an agency merely for supplying young people to employers, the time has come to close it up. As has been already suggested, the placing of young people in employment calls for most careful investigation and organization. Without a system of supervision, without a plan for the definite training of every child it helps send into uninstructional employment, and without a definite educational agreement with every employer who is thus served, the vocation bureau with other than incidental employment features must only intensify existing evil conditions of juvenile labor.

Every adviser has become familiar with the types who seek occult assistance. They are morbidly introspective. The relation to their fellows and to their work is not normal. The personal data sheets or printed list of personal questions, such as the counselor may prepare for the applicant, cannot be used mechanically, and with reference to the type of applicant here in question they will usually prove worthless. Self-analysis is like a drug habit with these people

and before vocational help of any value can be given, the counselor will probably find it necessary to deal frankly with their mental and emotional make-up. The vocation bureau is not equipped for service in the field of abnormal psychology. Its rigorous common-sense methods should be sufficient to deter the coming of those who need other than the bureau's help. The bureau must ever be on guard against dabbling in subjects foreign to its powers.

In dealing with the life-work problems of young people sane conservatism must prevail, and a sharp sense of responsibility control the work of the vocational director. The methods he uses and the suggestions he makes are all fraught with serious consequences. No other work calls more insistently for sense, judgment, and straight thinking. Misguidance is a constant possibility in bureau work. With a growing number of counselors in the field, and with the extension of this service through both public and private endeavor everywhere, the dangers multiply. Good intentions cannot excuse the lack of care and adequate equipment on the part of the advisers.

The applicant himself is a factor in the bureau's liability to disservice. To answer a list of personal questions, either orally or in writing, honestly and satisfactorily, is a difficult process. Not many people can face themselves objectively. Inability as well as unwillingness to do so may be the reason. To know one's self after the manner presupposed by many

so-called self-analysis charts is a sign of genius and capacity not in need of a counselor's help. Exploring the vocational possibilities of a troubled or discouraged applicant calls for a large expenditure of thought and energy. No progress can be made if the applicant does not meet the counselor's exertions in a coöperative spirit. The margin for error and misjudgment is large at best, and the applicant must attend faithfully to the reading, the investigating, and the work required of him.

There is no royal road to vocational guidance. Pretentious claims do not belong to the legitimate vocation bureau. What may be confidently expected during the early years of this work is mitigation of the prevailing anarchy during the decisive years of school and occupational changes, through energetic application of science and sympathy to this problem. To sum up the principal dangers which the movement may encounter, attention is again directed to the danger of forcing decisions upon young children through wholesale counseling; too little personal relationship; absence of genuine research work; superficial suggestion; vocational bias; job-finding instead of constructive social service; pretentiousness; and generally inferior equipment of the executive and the bureau. Mistakes are inevitable in this endeavor to help the coming generation to find itself, but a rigid standard of service and of social responsibility can alone insure against their too frequent repetition.

V

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN GERMANY

WE consider now some of the important enterprises carried on by public and private agencies in Germany, England, and Scotland, for the purpose of helping boys and girls in their start in life. These countries have been selected for special discussion because their work of vocational assistance, some of it old and much of it still in the early experimental stages, possesses peculiar suggestiveness for workers in similar fields in the United States. Conditions and even viewpoints will be found so unlike our own, oftentimes, that direct adoption of the schemes described will be obviously out of the question. Genuine social service, as every experienced worker knows, is never a transplantation; it must grow out of local insight and necessity. This, too, should be pointed out: The countries mentioned differ not only with respect to one another in methods and policies of helping the children vocationally, but they differ, too, in many details, within their various subdivisions. Scotland does not follow England, nor does England follow Germany in the work of vocational assistance. The work in Birmingham is unlike that in London, while Edinburgh differs from both. North

Germany and South Germany are widely apart in both methods and results.

In a survey of foreign experiments, one cannot fail to be impressed by the elaborateness of machinery developed; the extent and effectiveness of the national and local support through legislation and money grants; and also by the extraordinary development of volunteer service on the part of men and women who are drawn from school, manufacturing, commercial, labor, civic, and social-service groups.

Although German literature on the subject of vocational counseling and the choice of a life-career is considerable, and some of it of a most thorough and excellent character, there is at the present time not more than a beginning of distinct and organized activity in this field. German social enterprise has concerned itself thus far largely, among other things, with the immense task of establishing the continuation and part-time school system, which has become a world model, and the system of labor bureaus which place boys and girls who seek work.

Nevertheless, the schools have not been indifferent to the career problems of the children. Before the school-leaving period draws near, and shortly before the fourteenth birthday, teachers and others call attention to the various wage-earning opportunities open to the children. They describe the supplementary training provisions of the municipality and the procedure in

getting work through the labor exchange. In a few cities and towns municipal vocational information offices have been started — usually in connection with some well-established agency, such as the statistical bureau — for the purpose of advising parents, children, and teachers as to industrial conditions, the state of the labor market, and the nature of the demand for workers. These “consultation hours for parents,” so called, are among the most interesting and promising activities in the recent German movement for organized vocational guidance. A notable instance of this type of work is to be found in the city of Halle, where the director of the Statistical Bureau, Dr. Wolff, has for several years conducted on his own initiative a department for vocational counseling. The abundant economic material of the office is made available to those who seek information as to the nature of various employments. Office hours are advertised when the director or an assistant will be found on duty for vocational counseling.

The schools, too, are keenly interested in preventing the children from becoming careless job-seekers, and they take a personal interest in directing children to the nearest labor exchange and to other placement agencies. Parents are invited before the children leave school to attend informal conferences, at which a brief talk is given to point out the mischief of drifting into employment without forethought and plan. Pamphlets are often distributed showing what the various occu-

pations are and their educational requirements; also the institutions, public and private, which give the required training. Specific advice is avoided by German teachers, who realize that giving occupational information is the work of a specialist and that people unprepared for this task should not assume the serious responsibility it entails. The school authorities, nevertheless, endeavor to use their influence in securing attendance of the leaving children at the Labor Bureau until they have been placed.

Once started in employment, the boy, and in some places the girl, will be required to attend the appropriate continuation or part-time vocational school for two or three years, four or six hours a week. If the boy is in mercantile work, he will go to a commercial school, and if in industry he will attend courses dealing with the practical or related theoretical work of his trade. For that army of children who are in unskilled callings, classes are formed to give instruction in subjects common to a large group of miscellaneous occupations and helpful also in developing character and citizenship.

The question as to what further instruction a boy or girl is to receive is settled by the nature of the employment undertaken. Therefore, it is not the choice of a career which confronts the average German schoolboy, but the question as to how well he will do the work he is almost destined for. To be sure, the children have some choice as between entering the ranks of the skilled or the unskilled pursuits, the latter paying children,

as is everywhere the case, relatively more attractive wages than the former. But for the most part the social and economic position of the children settles the general class of employments which they are likely to go into.

In this fact lies the explanation for the absence thus far in Germany of a scheme of guidance comprehensive and supported by law. Guidance, it has been thought, was a somewhat needless procedure in the case of young people whose career was more or less a predetermined matter. Recent events show the discontent of thinking Germans with such a mischievous assumption and the situation which it has created. Many towns are distributing occupational handbooks, and a large number of social agencies are working for organized schemes of vocational information and guidance to precede the employment stage.

Certain far-reaching changes in industrial conditions have brought about the new demand for vocational guidance. Germany's most successful part-time vocational schools are to be found where the factory system has not yet transformed the old-time methods of production. In South Germany, where shops employing from ten to fifty workers are the prevalent type, apprenticeship is still a possibility. Individual skill counts for much where the worker is not altogether a process or an automatic worker. Initiative and manual dexterity find scope in the small shop, where often a variety of tasks are to be performed by

an individual. This is not the case in the factory-dotted areas of North Germany.

The part-time school as a state enterprise in apprenticeship training is only a logical continuation of the system which the employers themselves once supported in self-interest and managed as part of their function.

But in the rapid changes, from small to large methods of production, from a rural and semi-rural to an urban and mobile population, and with increasing sub-division of labor, an apprenticeship system cannot alone meet the needs of thousands of young people facing the wage-earning life. Nor does the apprenticeship system, even though supplemented by the vocational school, assure a right start in life for all classes of children. Criticism has, therefore, grown in volume, and in the public addresses of leading German economists, educators, and social workers will be found cogent arguments for the establishment of supplementary guidance plans to help children and parents.

Despite the admirable placement and training provisions to be found in a number of German States, the fact remains that there is an unregulated and menacing drift of young people into trades, a drift which causes oversupply of workers in some industries, while in others there is a scarcity of workers. The economic results of this chaos have been pointed out at recent conventions of economists and labor organizations. The probable breakdown of training provisions, and

a condition of chronic unemployment and underemployment for a large percentage of the workers, are the consequences. Thinking Germans no longer rely on the law of supply and demand to work magic in correcting the maladjustment. The tendency on the part of those leaving school to make straight for the immediately profitable unskilled occupations threatens the efficacy and appeal of the vocational school. In the Trade and Labor Census of 1907 there were 350,000 young people noted as employed in miscellaneous callings, aside from the familiar trades. Of these not more than about 150,000 had had any vocational training, the rest being employed as helpers, in no need of specific efficiency training. There is no reason to believe that the number of such neglected factors in the working population has diminished. On the contrary, all indications point not only to an increase in their number, but to the possibility of a majority of young workers finding themselves before many years in the ranks of the "blind-alley" workers. Neither well-disposed individuals nor local communities are strong enough to deal with a situation whose roots are deep and wide. For this reason a number of experiments have been undertaken for the purpose of trying out what it is hoped may lead to a state-wide or federal plan for vocational guidance.

Of late years, in Munich and in Pforzheim, parents, teachers, physicians, and officers of the Labor Bureau and labor unions have coöperated in conferences for

the purpose of emphasizing the thoughtful selection of life-work and of calling attention to less familiar and to overcrowded trades. Several labor organizations, too, have attempted a counseling service, but with little success, owing to their inability to give this work the time and resources which it requires. In 1908 the Halle Bureau of Statistics, already mentioned, opened its office evenings to information seekers. The schools were notified of the Bureau's readiness to give information as to wages, conditions, and apprenticeship requirements of the various industries in the city. A secretary now keeps records of the advice given and endeavors to follow the progress of the children who have been counseled. The local Labor Bureau, of course, mediates in placing the children. The organizer of this experiment, Dr. Wolff, believes that the child's natural counselors, the parents, are often too busy and too little informed as to the nature of the various employments to be effective advisers. Parents' consultation hours were therefore established in the director's office to enable fathers and mothers to discuss with experts the vocational problems of their children. The consultation office has been open also to adults who sought information about various trades and conditions. The work has developed beyond the stage of mere information-giving, definite suggestions being now given to young applicants, based on the Bureau's study of their educational equipment, health, personal inclinations, and the financial condition of the

family. When the decision is finally made by the parent and child, the help of the Bureau is sought in securing an opening, and especially an apprenticeship opportunity for the boy. Private agencies and individuals are often enlisted in the search for a promising place. The Bureau of Statistics endeavors to keep its advisory material fresh by frequent study of the labor market, of demand and supply, and the promising avenues of employment. A record is kept of employers who will coöperate in an apprenticeship agreement. Various trades and commercial organizations have been enlisted in assigning members to give public lectures on the various trades, businesses, and professions. In 1908, the year of opening, 27 applicants made use of the Halle consultation hours; 54 in 1909; 79 in 1910; and 104 in 1911. The range of visitors to the office has now grown to include a large number of business men, manufacturers, teachers, and public officials who desire help in a large variety of occupational problems. Of 264 individuals counseled during the first three years of the consultation hours' service, 128 had had only elementary schooling, while the others were distributed among the higher schools. Two thirds of all who applied were fourteen years of age or under. Eighty-five were started in life under apprenticeship arrangements.

Halle has not neglected its girls. Consultation hours for girl apprentices have been started by a body of public-spirited women, while the task of starting girls

as domestic servants is looked after by the Housewives' Association of the city. Halle's example has been followed by half a dozen other cities, the statistical bureaus, which in Germany represent a high type of efficiency, usually acting as centers of vocational information for schools, parents, and children.

At the conventions held during recent years by associations of labor-exchange officials, of economists and social workers, notably those held in Düsseldorf in 1910, and more recently in Breslau and Elberfeld, the papers which attracted particular notice were those advocating municipal vocation bureaus.

This proposal has borne fruit, for we find similar recommendations appearing in the political platforms of various parties, especially in relation to social policies for cities and towns. In August, 1913, Düsseldorf opened a guidance office for the city and surrounding districts, accompanied by placement bureaus for apprentices. Frankfort is carrying on a series of motion-picture lectures showing the various employments, the object being to interest boys and girls in thinking about their future vocations. The Berlin Labor Bureau Central Office conducts public motion-picture shows with a like purpose, the first of these having been given in May, 1913. In 1912 the Leipzig Manufacturers' Association started a guidance bureau for young people. In this enterprise they have not had the support of the workingmen, for one reads in their organ, the *Leipzig Labor Daily* (*Leipziger Volkszeitung*) of May 14 and 15:

"The vocational-guidance bureau ought not to be in the hands of an employers' organization until we secure a very effective law for the protection of apprentices against overwork and underpay"; and "Such bureau should be a state or municipal institution."

There are other advisory offices throughout Germany, too numerous, indeed, to record in this brief survey of significant beginnings in organized vocational guidance inspired by social service aims. Some of these offices are supported by philanthropic societies, some are connected with established charities, some are employers' devices to get more suitable employees, and others are slight experiments looking to a public undertaking of the work.

The vocational guidance service of some of the German labor bureaus has been so excellent that a brief account of their work will be of interest. In Strassburg, since 1902, the Municipal Labor Bureau has endeavored, with the official support and direction of labor organizations and the Chamber of Commerce, to start boys in life as well as possible. The control committee is made up of employers and employees from various occupations of the district. This committee seeks information as to suitability of the employers who announce the vacancies. All boys who are about to leave school, whether with work in prospect or not, are obliged to report themselves with their parents to the Labor Bureau, the school officials taking pains to secure this attendance. The teacher distributes cards

to be filled in by all the boys and girls leaving the elementary schools, and their parents are summoned for an evening conference with the school authorities, who explain the purpose of the cards. Within a few days the cards must be taken to the Labor Bureau. Each boy at leaving time is examined by the health officer as to his physical condition, and notes are entered upon the boy's card. This card is examined by the Labor-Bureau officials, as well as by employers' committees. All boys and girls report back regularly with their control cards until they have been placed as suitably as circumstances permit. To help in cases where poverty would force an unwise choice of employment, scholarship grants, or subsidies, have been started with government aid, and there are other instances of special financial assistance to start the boy properly.

The Munich Labor Bureau, like that of Strassburg, just described, works in intelligent coöperation with the School Department. The boys go out of school to a large variety of apprenticeship openings, such as mechanics, bakers, locksmiths, woodworkers, etc. They are carefully examined medically. Every effort is made to prevent waste and drifting in undertaking employment. The German people have a horror of waste in any form, particularly the waste due to intermittent employment. Everywhere vocational advice stresses the importance of preparation for permanent work.

Germany, like England and our own country, is not

without its grievous problems of child labor. Not all the children can avail themselves of the advice given; and there are instances enough of parents who are ignorant and irresponsible. Efforts toward better regulation of juvenile employment, the raising of the compulsory school age, and the prohibition of certain employments to minors are energetically going forward. Nevertheless, Germany has laid foundations of social and educational policy which are of immense assistance in the present efforts for vocational guidance. It is a truism in German educational thought, that no occupation, whatever may be its character or problems of organization, can be permitted to go on indifferent to the developmental needs of its young workers. Compulsion has long been looked upon, at least in some parts of Germany, as the foundation of success in any scheme of training young workers. This principle is becoming the universal practice in the Empire. Influenced by this, there are advocates of a like policy with respect to the start in life of the boys and girls; that is to say, while decision must always necessarily be a free act, and besides, the free act of parent and child, there should be suitable provision, publicly supported, for the supplying of vocational information and expert guidance to young people who are headed for employment. While the industrial field is an object of special emphasis with the leaders in the German movement, there is no failure to recognize the fact that such guidance is indispensable to all career seekers, whether

in the professions, commerce, trades, or government service.

When contrasted with the widespread organization of counseling service in the United Kingdom, the foregoing account of German beginnings would seem to indicate a rather tardy recognition of the problems which confront the school-children at the transition stage. Such impression would not do justice to the facts. The truth is that in no other country is there a larger body of intellectual leaders who have been thinking deeply on this transition problem. University professors, recognized authorities in social and civic affairs, distinguished economists, party leaders, publicists, and men and women at the forefront of advance movements in the Empire are among the conspicuous participants in the beginnings which this chapter has only briefly sketched.

VI

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

ALTHOUGH various Scotch and English towns have for years been carrying on some juvenile advisory and placement work, frequently through members of the care committees, established primarily to supervise school feeding, two parliamentary enactments, one known as the Labor Exchanges Act, passed in 1909, and the other as the Education (Choice of Employment) Act, passed in 1910, may be said to be the mainsprings of the present vocational-guidance activities in the United Kingdom. These two acts, with respect to their advisory and juvenile employment provisions, have been in process of application simultaneously. Under their authority many important experiments are under way. The separate education act of Scotland became effective in 1908, with the following provisions: —

It shall be lawful for a school board, if they think fit, in addition to any powers already vested in them, to incur expenditure and to defray the same out of the school fund, in carrying out or in combining with one or more school boards to carry out the following objects (that is to say): In maintaining or combining with other bodies to maintain any agency for collecting and distributing information as to employments open to children upon leaving school.

The Education (Choice of Employment) Act, 1910, quoted in part reads: —

An act to enable certain local education authorities to give boys and girls information, advice, and assistance with respect to the choice of employment.

1. — (1) The powers conferred upon the councils of counties and county boroughs as local education authorities under section two of the Education Act, 1902 (in this act called the principal act), shall include a power to make arrangements, subject to the approval of the board of education, for giving boys and girls under seventeen years of age assistance with respect to the choice of suitable employment, by means of the collection and the communication of information and the furnishing of advice.

Under the Labor Exchanges Act of 1909, the Board of Trade, which combines many of the functions of, and corresponds to, our Departments of the Interior, Commerce, and Labor, was authorized to make its own regulations for the conduct of these exchanges and to establish such juvenile advisory committees as it thought fit.

The joint memorandum issued by the Board of Trade and Board of Education has laid the foundation of the present relationship between the schools and the juvenile labor exchanges. While one cannot say how long the policies laid down in this document will continue in their present form, there being a determined effort on the part of a number of leaders in child-welfare work to secure to the school authorities the exclusive control of the advisory and placements services for those under seventeen, the probabilities seem to be

that for a long time to come the suggestions substantially as outlined in the following memorandum will be in force: —

Memorandum with Regard to Coöperation between Labor Exchanges and Local Education Authorities exercising their Powers under the Education (Choice of Employment) Act, 1910

1. We have had under consideration (a) the Education (Choice of Employment) Act, 1910, and (b) the Special Rules with regard to Registration of Juvenile Applicants in England and Wales made on the 7th February, 1910, by the Board of Trade after consultation with the Board of Education, under the Labor Exchanges Act, 1909, and printed as an appendix to the present memorandum. Under the new act the councils of counties and county boroughs, as local education authorities, are empowered to make arrangements, subject to the approval of the Board of Education, for giving to boys and girls under seventeen years of age assistance with respect to the choice of suitable employment, by means of the collection and the communication of information and the furnishing of advice. In the special rules of the Board of Trade two alternative methods are indicated by which information, advice, and assistance with respect to the choice of employment and other matters bearing thereon can be given to boys and girls and their parents in connection with the working of labor exchanges. Paragraphs 2 to 5 of the rules make provision for the establishment by the Board of Trade of special advisory committees for juvenile employment, which may, as one of their functions, take steps to give such information, advice, and assistance, but without any responsibility with regard thereto being undertaken by the Board of Trade or the officers in charge of labor exchanges. Paragraph 6 of the special rules contemplates the case of a local education authority which has and desires to exercise statutory powers for the purposes of giving information, advice, and assistance, and provides that, where such powers are exercised in accordance with a satisfactory scheme, the

registration of juvenile applicants for employment shall not be conducted by the labor exchange except in accordance with the scheme, and that the Board of Trade may dispense with the services of a special advisory committee so far as the area of the authority is concerned. The enactment of the Education (Choice of Employment) Act, 1910, renders it possible for the procedure contemplated by paragraph 6 of the special rules to be brought into operation.

2. We are of opinion that the employment of juveniles should be primarily considered from the point of view of their educational interests and permanent careers rather than from that of their immediate earning capacities, and accordingly we urge upon local education authorities the desirability of undertaking, in accordance with the principles set out in the present memorandum, the responsibilities offered to them by the new act. We consider that it is of importance that these responsibilities should be exercised in the fullest coöperation with the national system of labor exchanges established under the Labor Exchanges Act, 1909, and the Board of Education will, therefore, before approving any proposals from local education authorities for the exercise of their new powers, require adequate provision to be made for such coöperation. Where a satisfactory scheme has been brought into force by a local education authority, paragraph 6 of the special rules will operate, and the Board of Trade will be prepared to recognize a committee of the authority as charged with the duty of giving advice with regard to the management of the labor exchange for its area in relation to juvenile applicants for employment. There are certain areas in which, pending the passing of the act, the Board of Trade have already established, or have definitely undertaken to establish, special advisory committees under paragraphs 2 to 5 of the special rules, and we presume that the local education authorities for these areas will desire to continue the arrangements already made, at least until some further experience has been gained, and will consequently defer the exercise of their powers under the act. So far as other areas are concerned, the Board of Trade do not propose to take any steps for the establishment of special ad-

visory committees until after the 31st December, 1911, except in the event of the local education authority passing a formal resolution to the effect that they do not propose to exercise their powers under the Choice of Employment Act.

3. We recognize that the methods to be adopted by authorities in working the act must necessarily be subject to considerable variations in accordance with local conditions, and will, in particular, be affected by the distribution of the labor exchanges, the districts of which are not necessarily coterminous with the areas of authorities. We think, however, that in normal cases some such arrangements as are indicated in the following paragraphs are likely to be found effective in practice and may be expected to insure a reasonable distribution and correlation of functions between the authorities and the labor exchanges.

4. The work to be undertaken by public bodies in giving assistance in the choice of employment for juveniles may be regarded as having two branches. In the first place, there is the task of giving such advice to boys and girls and their parents as will induce them to extend where possible the period of education and to select, when employment becomes necessary, occupations which are suited to the individual capacities of the children and, by preference, those which afford prospects not merely of immediate wages, but also of useful training and permanent employment. In the second place, there is the practical task of registering the actual applications for employment and bringing the applicants into touch with employers who have notified vacancies of the kind desired.

5. In any scheme of coöperation put forward under the new act, the first of these two tasks — that of giving advice — should, we think, be assigned to the local education authority, with the assistance of such information as to the conditions and prospects of particular kinds of employment as can be furnished by the Board of Trade through the labor exchanges. We think that the authority should act through a special subcommittee, which may, perhaps, also be the subcommittee charged with the supervision of continuation and technical schools, and which should always include an ade-

quate number of members possessing experience or knowledge of industrial as well as of educational conditions. In its detailed working, which should include the keeping in touch with boys and girls after as well as before employment has been found for them, such a subcommittee will, we trust, realize to the full the services not only of teachers and of school attendance officers, but also of voluntary workers, whose activities may here find one of their most valuable educational spheres; but the work will be of a kind which depends largely upon skilled and effective organization, and it will probably be found desirable, as a rule, to put at the disposal of the subcommittee an executive officer, who will act as its secretary and maintain the daily contact between the authority, the voluntary workers, and the labor exchange.

6. As regards the second of these two tasks, namely, the registration of applications for employment and the selection of applicants to fill vacancies notified by employers, there is need for coöperation between the education authority and the labor exchange, and direct relations should be established between the subcommittee or officer of the authority and the officer in charge of the juvenile department of the labor exchange. For this purpose it will probably be found convenient for the two officers to be located in the same or contiguous buildings. At present a good deal of the work done in connection with the employment of children is done at the elementary and other schools at which the children are in attendance, and no doubt this will continue to be the case, at any rate so far as the giving of advice is concerned; but we desire to point out that the notification of applications for employment to a central office will increase the range of vacancies open to any one applicant and will therefore advance the fundamental object of placing each applicant in the employment which best suits him and to which he is best suited. We contemplate, therefore, that applications for employment from children still at school will continue to be received and entered upon the necessary cards by their teacher, but that the cards will then, generally speaking, be forwarded by him to the authority's officer. The applications from boys and girls who have left school can, we think, most conven-

iently be registered by the officer of the labor exchange, but arrangements should be made to admit of such applicants being interviewed by the authority's officer either at the time of registration or as soon as possible after, as it is desirable that they should be fully advised before vacancies for employment are brought to their notice. All applications received in either of the ways indicated should at once be made available either in original or in copies for the use both of the education authority and of the labor exchange. Notifications of vacancies for employment should be made to the officer of the labor exchange, who will furnish the authority's officer with information as to each vacancy for which he proposes to submit a boy or girl, and with the name of any boy or girl whom he proposes to submit for it. Information passing between the authority and the labor exchange will naturally be held to be strictly for the purposes of their coöperation. We anticipate that in ordinary cases the question whether a particular vacancy is suitable for a particular boy or girl will give rise to no difference of opinion between the two officers. It will, however, probably be necessary to provide for the possibility of a difference of opinion. We think, therefore, that as a rule the decision should rest with the authority's representative as regards any child who is still in attendance at an elementary or other day school or has not left the day school more than six months previously, and that as regards applicants who have passed this limit the decision should rest with the officer of the labor exchange, who will, however, consult the authority's representative in all cases in which this is practicable, and will in all cases inform him as to the manner in which each vacancy is ultimately filled.

7. Should any scheme be submitted for the approval of the board of education under the act in which it is proposed to vary these limits or otherwise to depart materially from the scheme of coöperation outlined in this memorandum, it should be accompanied by a full statement of the special reasons urged by the local education authority in support of the proposed variation. The special circumstances of the case will then be considered jointly by the two departments.

Not only was coöperation with the schools sought for at the starting of the labor exchanges, but beginnings were made, too, in enlisting the help of the school medical inspectors and the certifying factory surgeons. The industrial district of Dewsbury illustrates the type of service sought. The factory surgeon for the Dewsbury district reports to the advisory committee on every child who is rejected from employment because of any physical handicap. The committee's secretary then visits such a child and endeavors to obtain for it either suitable employment or necessary medical treatment. It was found in the early cases that children had been working for months after being rejected by the doctor because of defects which slight medical care would remedy, but no attention was paid to these defects until the secretary hunted up the children.

For the sake of clearness the situation with regard to the two acts just mentioned is summarized. In England and Wales two methods of administering juvenile employment schemes are in operation: One is the Board of Trade scheme, whereby that board conducts a juvenile labor exchange as part of the national system of labor exchanges throughout the country, and furnishes both the funds and the officials. In such case the board appoints a local committee of representative men and women, called the juvenile advisory committee, whose duty it is to coöperate with the exchange officers. London affords a striking example of this type of development.

The other method permits the juvenile exchange to be administered by the local education authority, namely, the education committee of the council, provided that said local authority submits a scheme to the Board of Education which can be approved under the joint memorandum already described. On approval, the Board of Education sanctions a grant of money in aid of the advisory work of the local labor exchange. It will be seen that this is an adaptation of the plan followed by Scotland in organizing its employment information bureaus in close coördination with the schools, some time before the national system of labor exchanges came into existence. Nearly twoscore local education authorities are now conducting such school advisory and employment agencies, the best known being those in Birmingham, Liverpool, and Cambridge. A dozen or more additional cities and towns have submitted schemes which are awaiting approval.

As regards the plan of work there are certain basic features common to all the juvenile labor exchanges, whether under the Board of Trade or the local education authorities. These features are, first, keeping a record of the children leaving school for work; second, offering advice and guidance to boys and girls between fourteen and seventeen years of age; third, granting interviews to parents and others who desire to consult the officials; fourth, keeping a register of the positions open. Perhaps the most striking of these features, and it is at this point that nationalization is the strongest,

is the opportunity now open to boys and girls for individual advice and care when leaving the elementary schools. The schools have to turn over to the juvenile bureau the printed card forms on which are entered particulars as to health, character, aptitudes, etc., of all the leaving pupils. These records have to be passed in for all pupils, whether they desire assistance in finding employment or not. The records are not always thorough or intelligible, because not all teachers and schools perform this duty conscientiously. Indeed, some records seem to be valueless; still this is not a criticism of the scheme as a whole, for such deficiencies are remediable. The school usually puts itself on record with the records of its children.

These advisory committees represent a vast amount of unpaid public-spirited service. They are unique to England. The juvenile labor exchanges have profited greatly by their interest and coöperation. In London and elsewhere these committees are divided into sub-committees known as "rotas," in sessions of which the members take turns in personally advising the outgoing boys and girls. American opinion regards the task of interviewing and advising as perhaps the most complicated and delicate service in vocational guidance, one demanding insight, expert knowledge, and a specialized training besides. That volunteers should undertake so difficult a task argues leisure and great devotion. It seems hardly probable, however, that this particular feature of the English work will be perma-

nently left to the volunteer. Guidance during the critical years of adolescence is, as has been indicated, the principal aim of the Choice of Employment Act, with employment as a secondary consideration. The grant allowed by the Board of Education is specially stated to be in aid of the executive officer, or officers, appointed by a local education authority for this work:—

In view of the great importance of the duties of such an officer, and of the necessity of securing thoroughly adequate qualifications, the board is prepared to make annual grants in aid of approved salaries paid to executive officers in respect to duties carried out in accordance with the scheme under section 1 of the Choice of Employment Act.

The Board of Trade scheme expressly disclaims responsibility with regard to any advice or assistance given by its committees. The education officers, on the other hand, representing, as they do, the locally elected authority, which is accountable to a local constituency, act, as a matter of course, with a lively sense of intimate and responsible relationship to the children. The school employment bureaux are not without advisory committees of their own. Members of the care committees, which have been dealing thus far with school feeding and other needs of poor children, are rapidly including vocational assistance among their duties, while frequently they are appointed to the Board of Trade juvenile advisory committees.

A detailed description of a few of the foremost vocational aid enterprises in England and Scotland follows, the work in London being first under consideration.

LONDON

With nearly 70,000 children leaving the elementary schools each year, the problem in London is sufficiently appalling. Volunteer service has developed here to an extraordinary degree. The London County Council with its energetic education committee and system of care committees; the Board of Trade with its strong central juvenile advisory committee and eighteen local advisory committees; the apprenticeship and skilled employment committees; befriending committees; and other agencies in bewildering variety — all these make the work in London deserving, indeed, of a separate monograph. The magnitude of London's problem, and the impossibility of dealing with it in the way smaller communities attack their vocational aid problems has made the London scheme unique. To understand the workings of the vocational help machinery in London, it will be necessary to consider first the organization of the London juvenile advisory committee. This is appointed by the Board of Trade to coöperate with the juvenile labor exchanges in the area known as the administrative county of London. It consists of: —

1. Six persons nominated by the London County Council.
2. Six persons possessing special knowledge of children and juvenile employment.
3. Three employers.
4. Three workpeople.

It is the duty of this committee to advise the Board of Trade from time to time in regard to all matters relating to the management of the juvenile branches of the labor exchanges, and in particular to form committees in connection with each local labor exchange. In addition, it supervises and directs the work of such local committees.

This central committee appoints the local advisory committee whenever a juvenile labor exchange is started in London.

Thirty persons constitute the local advisory committee. Of these, ten are nominated by the London County Council and two by the consultative committee of London head teachers, while there cannot be less than four representatives of employers and four representatives of workpeople. The remainder is made up of persons specially interested in the welfare of young persons, and includes teachers and social workers.

The following are the functions of the local committee as prescribed by the Board of Trade: —

1. To focus the existing scattered efforts of different organizations dealing with juvenile employment in the locality.
2. To organize a systematic procedure for obtaining, in cooperation with teachers and the care committees, knowledge of the character, qualifications, and home conditions of children about to leave school, and about to register at the labor exchange as applicants for employment.
3. To form subcommittees or "rotas" to attend at the ex-

change for the purpose of interviewing applicants and their parents in order to —

- (a) Give advice with regard to employment in general and with regard to particular vacancies.
 - (b) To endeavor to secure the attendance of boys and girls at evening continuation or technical classes.
4. To secure in coöperation with the labor exchange authorities that —
- (a) Employers are informed as to the work of the local committees.
 - (b) Adequate information is obtained as to the conditions and prospects of particular trades and situations.
 - (c) The records of all information relative to children, employers, and employment are so kept as to be readily available for the purpose of the committee.
5. In coöperation with care committees, boys' and girls' clubs, and institutions for the welfare of juveniles, to organize a system for keeping in touch with such boys and girls when placed as may be thought to need supervision.
6. To report periodically and make suggestions to the London juvenile advisory committee and to carry out such instructions as may from time to time be issued by them.

A local committee may recommend to the London juvenile advisory committee the names of persons as new members of the local committee provided the number (30) is not exceeded. It is also within the power of a local committee to recommend to the London advisory committee the names of persons to serve on rotas, as approved workers, without being members of the local committee. Local advisory committees are concerned with juveniles under the age of seventeen.

The authorities are under no delusion as to the

number of what may be termed really satisfactory openings for children. Returns of the occupations followed by boys on leaving school were obtained a few years ago by the London County Council. These returns showed that about half of the boys entered "blind-alley" employments, and, at most, a third found employment in any class of work which could be in any manner regarded as skilled. Employers offering vacancies of the less satisfactory kind are able to do without any help from labor exchanges. For a long time they will continue to be able to do so, despite all labor exchanges. Many children must work as soon as possible; their poverty is real. Now the records show how limited is the number of good openings, amounting, indeed, in the cases of the boys to not more than about a third of the available positions. Obviously the remaining two thirds of the boys in search of work are driven to unpromising and undesirable sorts of work.

This situation is bad, and it will not be remedied alone by the establishment of advisory committees. Nevertheless, there is a positive social gain in the existence of these committees. Vacancies of any kind will be filled, no matter what any committee may think; but they are now to an increasing extent filled with the knowledge of the labor exchange people.

The advisory committee is enabled to keep in touch with the boy; they may be able to find him more suitable employment at a later date; but they are, at any

rate, in a position to trace his industrial career and ascertain exactly the effect his work has upon him.

There can never be a satisfactory solution of the problem of juvenile employment until detailed and conclusive information is available regarding the conditions of boy and girl labor.

It is hoped that the advisory committees, in their dealing with disadvantageous forms of employment, will be in a position to point out what further public action is necessary to remedy evils which may be discovered.

A very large percentage of children who apply to the exchange do not obtain employment through the exchange. Of the juveniles who register, little more than half are found employment. The remainder find work on their own account, and nothing more is known of their careers. To remedy this deficiency is, perhaps, the committee's most important duty.

A most important feature of the local advisory committees' work is the attempt to organize a system under which accurate information may be obtained of the industrial career of each boy and girl placed. The committee endeavors to test the value of its work by reviewing the progress of the placed children. The point of view of the child, his parent, as well as the opinion of the employer, are ascertained. A boy may have been placed in employment for which he is physically or otherwise unfitted, or he may be given a situation with prospects of permanent employment.

He may have taken up work in which he can hope to be successful only by taking certain special training courses. He is advised accordingly. Some employers require certain qualifications in the worker engaged. It is desirable that the committee should know such facts. Now all this kind of information, so essential to good work by an advisory committee, can be secured only through investigation.

An interesting method of ascertaining the industrial progress of the young workers has been adopted by some advisory committees: —

Every juvenile, when he is placed, is invited to call at the exchange periodically and let the committee know how he is getting on. He comes in the evening when rotas are meeting. A notice of such meetings sometimes appears in the window of the exchange. It is found that children make considerable use of this opportunity of consulting the secretary or committee.

Some local advisory committees have established coöperation between themselves and the local certifying factory surgeons, who, in certain cases, have undertaken to notify the advisory committee of the names of rejected children, with a recommendation as to the type of employment for which they are best suited. The advisory committees endeavor to place the juveniles in accordance with the physician's disclosures.

This, then, in broad outline, is the work of the London advisory committee and its local committees. There is an earnest endeavor, first, to know the chil-

dren, their needs and capabilities; secondly, to place them as advantageously as conditions will allow; and thirdly, to study results of this placement through the system of after-care which is being developed. The facts which will be forthcoming after a few years' trial of this great enterprise will be invaluable for their illumination of industrial conditions as reflected in the careers of the children studied, and of special service in the formulation of future educational and social policies.

The London schools are being brought into close working relation with the exchanges. Many teachers are breaking away from the traditional silence and routine of the English teaching body, and are making personal studies on their own account of the children who leave prematurely for wage-earning.

As yet the United Kingdom is not ready for the German system of compulsory daytime instruction for young workers. Attention is therefore centered on existing shortcomings in the evening school system. These defects are glaring, though not at all peculiar to England. Dwindling classes, indifferent and disheartened students, the natural handicap of artificial lighting, and weariness of both students and teachers after the day's toil, are familiar conditions. The situation in Great Britain, as with us, is an indictment of the principle of voluntary and of evening attendance by children between fourteen and eighteen years of age. The Munich boy between fourteen and seventeen years of

age, employed throughout the year though he may be, is compelled to attend for two hundred and forty daylight hours per session during each of the three years. In London the number of student hours per enrollment per evening session amounts to something like forty-five.

BIRMINGHAM

Nowhere in England will be found a more intelligently executed plan of helping children start in life than in the city of Birmingham. The education committee, through its central care committee, has built up an organization of school care committees which now covers nearly the whole of the city. The scheme operates under the Choice of Employment Act and was approved by the Board of Education in consultation with the Board of Trade in July, 1911. An integral part of the Birmingham scheme is the chain of juvenile labor exchanges distributed at central points throughout the city, in the management of which there is the closest coöperation between the school and Board of Trade officials. A corps of nearly fifteen hundred men and women, called helpers, undertake to interest themselves in the individual children and their parents who use the labor exchanges. During the first seventeen months nearly eleven thousand applications were received from employers, and seven thousand children under seventeen years of age were placed, besides numbers of other cases in which the helpers themselves undertook to counsel and place the children.

About thirteen thousand boys and girls leave the elementary schools in that city each year; most of them are absorbed by offices, factories, workshops, and warehouses. The need of guidance and training is apparent as soon as the careers of these children are scrutinized. To meet this need, the following plan, in active operation for more than two years, is in charge of the central care committee, which devotes its attention to the industrial problems of boys and girls from the time they leave school until they are seventeen years of age. This committee consists of six members of the education committee, four representatives of teachers, three of employers, three of workmen, four social workers, the school medical officer, and others. The committee carries on its work through two sets of agencies (1) the juvenile employment exchanges, and (2) school care committees.

The Central Juvenile Employment Exchange

This is in charge of an officer specially appointed by the Board of Trade on account of his knowledge, training, and fitness for dealing with the employment of juveniles. He attends the meetings of the central care committee and acts in consultation with their officer.

The chief work of the exchange is: —

(1) To receive and register applicants for employment from youths and girls under seventeen years of age.

(2) To receive and register applications from employers for juvenile employees.

(3) To endeavor to place the applicants for employment in the situations for which they are best suited and in which they are likely to be most successful.

The exchange is in a good position to select the applicant, because both the exchange and the central care committee have accumulated an immense amount of information about the various trades of the city, and so can advise as to wages, prospects, and conditions in any trade. It knows what trades lead to regular and improving work, and can caution against bad conditions and prospects.

By the time a child applies for a post, the officials above mentioned will have in their possession a report concerning it from the head teacher of its school, from the school medical officer, and from the school care committee helper. In the first twelve months 7180 applicants were received from employers, and 4907 were filled.

For the convenience of parents and juvenile applicants five branch exchanges have been opened in various parts of the city.

School care committees

The scheme provides for the appointment of a school care committee for each elementary school in the city. Many schools thus have their own care committees. In a number of cases it has been found advisable to

group several neighboring schools under one care committee. These committees consist of school managers, teachers, and others prepared to interest themselves actively in boys and girls. The members are assigned as "helpers" to a small number of children each. The helper is put in touch with the boys or girls about three months before they leave school, and at once tries to set up a friendly relation with the parents as well as with the children by visits to the home or by other means.

The helper endeavors to keep in touch with the boy or girl for about three years. This, as regards employment, is necessary to counteract the aimless drifting or the capricious change from job to job, to give encouragement to face and overcome difficulties, to see that, if changes are advisable, they are made for the youth's benefit and do not give rise to intervals of disastrous unemployment.

The conditions under which boys and girls are employed are in many places quite unsatisfactory, and have a bad effect morally or physically, or both. Information is gathered by the central care committee and the juvenile employment exchanges, which some day doubtless will be used to improve these conditions.

Further education and kindred influences

The helper takes an interest, and stimulates the parents' interest, too, in further education of the boys and girls. They are urged, where the hours of work

allow, to join classes at the technical schools, schools of art, evening continuation schools, or at such institutions as may be most suitable to the individual cases.

Again, meetings of parents are held from time to time, such as have already been organized by several school care committees; also meetings of boys and girls about to leave school or who have recently left. These meetings are found to be valuable means of rousing interest in the future well-being of the children.

The helper's notebook is an interesting device for keeping track, not only of the children, but of the helper's effectiveness as well. These notebooks when carefully employed are a veritable store of social information. Four pages from such a notebook are here reproduced as pages 133 to 136.

The relation of the Birmingham teachers to the scheme herein outlined is real and active. Many head teachers use commendable care in the reports on the children who leave school. These reports indicate the groups of children which in the teacher's judgment need a good deal of after-care, those which need only a moderate amount, and those which need no after-care except perhaps as to continued education. For the first eight months during which these records were kept, nearly half of about nine thousand cases were referred to the school care committees, which in turn called upon the helpers for assistance. Many organizations in Birmingham, particularly those interested in boys, have been enlisted in the scheme. Here social

workers and teachers, as is the case in Boston, New York, Cincinnati, and other cities, have been giving their time and their energy generously to the work. Parents' meetings are carried on by many school care committees. Employers are often the speakers at such meetings.

With reference to girl labor, Birmingham presents the problem characteristic of our own American cities. The girls desire office work and too many take courses in shorthand and typewriting. The start in life for these girls is difficult, indeed, and the outcome quite unsatisfactory. The market for stenographers and office workers is overstocked. The element amongst whom the exchange renders its most useful service is that group of girls who, desiring a manual occupation, have been guided into the better trades, such as book-binding, leather-stitching, etc. As in the case of the boys, there is a great demand for girl labor. The city has not adequately faced, and few cities have faced, the problem of vocational guidance for girls. Two useful handbooks have been issued by the central care committee as part of a series on the principal trades and occupations in Birmingham. One deals with the various trades for women and girls; the other with printing and allied trades. There is much effort to secure continued training in evening schools for the children placed.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN ENGLAND 183

(1) Child's name. (2) No.....

Address.....

School.....

(1) Standard.

(2) Date of leaving.

Home conditions.....

Father's occupation.....

Mother's occupation (if any).....

No. in family—

(1) over 14; (2) under 14.

Social or other organizations.....

Evening school or classes child promises to attend.

(1) Promise or (2) Plans for employment.

Will application be made to the J. E. Exchange.

Dates of visits.....

REMARKS AND NOTES:

This image shows a full page of primary-ruled paper. It features approximately 20 horizontal rows, each defined by two parallel dotted lines. The background is white, and the dots are small and evenly spaced along each line. There is no handwriting or other markings on the page.

SUGGESTIONS TO SCHOOL CARE COMMITTEES AND HELPERS FOR FILLING UP HELPER'S REPORTS

[*The references in these suggestions are to the helper's report cards*]

1. Members of school care committees and helpers will recognize that it is most important that the greatest care be taken to preserve the strictly confidential character of the teacher's reports and helper's reports, and to guard against their loss. It can be readily seen that friction and other disagreeable consequences might arise between head teachers and parents in some cases if the remarks of the former were known to the latter, and similarly the work of school care committees and helpers would be hampered, and probably rendered impossible if the helper's reports were not in careful keeping, and always treated as strictly confidential.
2. The first particulars as to "School," "Standard," etc., can be filled in from the head teacher's report.
3. With regard to "Date of leaving," helpers should guard against giving or countenancing the idea that a child may leave school before the date of legal exemption.
4. The entry under "Home conditions," should be brief observations of the home, evidence of care, or lack of it, in bringing up children, etc.
5. Under No. 4 on the helper's report card should be given the name of any club or organization, whether religious, social, educational, or recreative, with which the child is connected.
6. As to No. 5, it is important to bring home to parents and children the necessity of continued education. Probably the teacher's report card will give the name of the evening school or other classes which the child has promised to attend. If so, the helper can give valuable encouragement, and fortify the child in its intention to go to evening school and to continue there. If the head teacher's report does not record a promise, the helper should make special efforts to obtain one.
7. If the child has a definite promise of employment, please enter "Yes," after No. 6 (1), and give under No. 7 particulars of the employment promised. If the child has no definite promise, but plans have been formed for the child's employment, enter "Yes" under No. 6 (2), and then give particulars under No. 7.
8. With regard to No. 8, it is most important that free use be made of the juvenile employment exchange, in order that the work of school care committees, helpers, etc., may bear full fruit. Hence, if the child has no definite promise of or plans for work, it should be urged to register at the employment exchange, 188 Corporation Street, or one of the branches. Even if there is employment in view, and this does not appear satisfactory, the child should still be persuaded, if possible, to ascertain by application at the exchange whether something better cannot be obtained.

9. Under "General remarks" may, of course, be entered any observations of importance for which provision is not made elsewhere. Amongst other things, the helper's estimate of the degree of necessity for after-care and of the frequency of subsequent visits would be useful. Naturally, some cases will need almost constant attention, with frequent visits, while others will require very little.
10. As record of "Further Education," in the column headed "Subjects or course," if a student is taking one of the recognized courses, the entry "Preparatory," "Commercial," "Technical (or Industrial)," "General," "Domestic," as the case may be, will be sufficient, or the individual subjects may be entered.
11. If a student leaves during the session, the reason for leaving, if ascertained, should be entered in the last column. At the end of a session or term an entry as to progress made will be useful. Head teachers of evening schools will be pleased to coöperate with school care committees, and visits or inquiries will be welcomed.
12. As to record of "Employment," the space for some of the entries may be found insufficient, but there is no objection to two lines being used for each situation; for example, the name of the employer could be put on one line, and the address on the next in the third column.
13. In column 4 should be entered the general designation of the trade, and in column 5 the description of the particular branch or phase of the trade in which the child is engaged.
14. In the last column, the entry "Exchange" will be sufficient if the employment was obtained through the juvenile employment exchange; "School," if through the agency of the school; "Self," if the employment was obtained by the child or its parents.
15. It is often very important to know why a boy or girl has left a situation, or how he or she is getting on in it. Hence, it is hoped that entries on these points will be made under "General remarks."
16. In cases where changes of occupation are so frequent, and conditions such that the ordinary helper's report form does not provide sufficient space for record, a supplementary helper's report form should be used.
17. Great discretion and tact will be needed in obtaining the information for the helper's report. Any visit should be made in a friendly way, and as a *helper* indeed. If found advisable, the information can be obtained gradually, and so entered. In most cases a series of direct questions on a first visit would be regarded as highly inquisitive, and might give positive offense.
18. In ordinary cases the helper's first report on any child should be sent to the honorable secretary of the school care committee in time to allow of its being sent to the education department a month before the child is expected to leave school.

FURTHER EDUCATION

Evening school or class attended by child.....

Date of (1) entering.....

(2) Leaving.....

Subjects or course.....

Progress or reason for leaving.....

EMPLOYMENT

Name of employer.....

Address of employer.....

Date of (1) commencing.....

(2) Leaving

Trade and nature of work.....

(1) Weekly wage.....

(2) Daily hours.....

How employment obtained.....

Progress or reason for leaving.....

REMARKS, NOTES, AND INFORMATION ON CHANGES OF EMPLOYMENT, ETC.

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EDINBURGH

The best-known of all the advisory and employment schemes is probably that which has been developed in Edinburgh. The thorough articulation of the advisory, placement, and continuation school activities, all fortunately centered in one place, namely, in the offices of the Edinburgh School Board, has materially helped the work in that city. Able school officials and an excellent advisory committee have centered their energy for the past two years on the promotion of the central information and employment bureau. The Edinburgh plan deserves detailed consideration.

As the result of conferences with social workers, educators, and such women as Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, the School Board decided early in 1908 to establish a bureau for vocational assistance. In that year the Scotland Act empowered the school boards to use money from the school fund. No special money was, however, allotted. Giving information was the main purpose of the bureau. The organizer of continuation classes, whose work had brought him for several years in close touch with employers, was placed in charge of the new bureau.

The operation of the Edinburgh plan is as follows:—

Several weeks before the next fixed date for leaving, each head master fills cards giving particulars of age, physical conditions, ability, attainment, and employment desired, for all pupils who will leave. Each card

also contains the opinion of the teacher as to the occupation for which the pupil is suited, notes as to proposed employment, suggestions for further education, and spaces for general remarks. These cards are sent in to the education officer, who files them in a cabinet.

Meanwhile the fixed date approaches. The parents of pupils leaving school are often invited to an evening meeting at the school. They are addressed by members of the Board and by teachers. To these parents, and also to those who do not come to the meetings, a circular letter is sent.

The consequence is that a large number of boys and girls come to the Board Office to follow up the card. The candidate first goes to the exchange officer's room and receives his card stamped with the reference number of the occupation desired. He passes to the education officer's room and has a talk about his aims, his further education, and the suitability of the career for which he has expressed a preference. The parents are urged to be present at this interview, but unfortunately do not always respond. The boy or girl then passes back to the exchange officer's room, and is definitely registered as a candidate for a particular kind of employment. The cards of those who have made this personal application are separated from the others, and they receive priority in filling vacancies.

A circular letter is sent to employers informing them of the joint arrangement and requesting their coöperation. When the employer writes or telephones asking

for candidates for a certain position, the register of personal applicants is first consulted. Details of the request and also of the candidates sent are entered on the employer's card. Beyond the two sets of cards (both of which are filled by the exchange officer, but are always open to inspection of the education officer) no other registers are kept.

Both the education officer and the exchange officer make systematic visits to employers, the former to study industrial conditions of the employees, and to gain ideas for improving the continuation classes; the latter to bring to the employers' notice the facilities for securing suitable workers through the exchange.

The following circulars are sent to parents and children: —

EDINBURGH SCHOOL BOARD

DEAR SIR OR MADAM: The members of the Board desire to call your special attention to the steps which they are taking to guide and advise young people regarding their future careers in life, and to provide for them the systematic training on commercial or industrial lines that will best fit them for the occupation which they elect to follow.

Educational Information and Employment Department

The Education Department has recently pointed out that it has been matter of frequent complaint that through want of information or proper guidance children, on leaving school, are apt to take up casual employments, which, though remunerative for the moment, afford no real preparation for earning a living in later life. The temptation to put a child into the first opening that presents itself is often very great. Due regard is not always paid to the capacities of the boys and girls concerned, with the result that many take up work

which affords no training and is without prospect, while many others are forced into trades or professions for which they are unsuited by temperament and education, and for which they consequently acquire a dislike. The result is a large amount of waste to the community at large and misery to the individuals concerned.

In order to coöperate with parents in putting an end to this state of matters, the Board in 1908 established an educational information and employment bureau. In 1909 the Board of Trade set up in the city a labor exchange whose juvenile department was intended to perform related duties so far as the employment of young people is concerned. It was felt that in the interests of economy and effective industrial organization a scheme of coöperation was desirable. An arrangement was therefore arrived at between the Edinburgh School Board and the Board of Trade whereby the work of both departments is carried on jointly in the present office of the School Board, and all persons above fourteen and under seventeen years of age are dealt with there. This arrangement is working with the utmost smoothness and to the satisfaction of all concerned.

The new organization combines the functions of the educational information and employment bureau and of the juvenile branch of the labor exchange. Briefly these are as follows:—

1. To supply information with regard to the qualifications most required in the various occupations of the city, the rates of wages, and the conditions of employment.
2. To give information about the technical and commercial continuation classes having relation to particular trades and industries.
3. To advise parents regarding the occupations for which their sons and daughters are most fitted when they leave school.
4. To keep a record of vacancies intimated by employers and to arrange for suitable candidates having an opportunity of applying for such vacancies.

The educational information and employment department (entrance 14 Cornwall Street) is open daily, from 10 A.M.

to 4 P.M. (Saturday, 10 A.M. to 12.30 P.M.), free of charge, to parents and pupils wishing information and advice as to education or employment.

To suit the convenience of parents who cannot call during the day, the educational information and employment department will be open from 7 to 9 on the following evenings in February and March: Monday, February 24, and Monday, March 3.

Thoughts for a boy on choosing work

1. Consider what you are best fitted for; ask your parents and your teacher what they think.
2. Think of the future. Many kinds of work done by boys, such as messengers, van or errand boys, end when a boy is seventeen or eighteen, and then it is difficult for him to begin again. Many grown men are out of work who earned high wages when they were boys; but it was at work which led to nothing.
3. Learn a trade if you can get the chance. Think how good it is to know a trade at which you can get work in other parts of the country as well as where you live now.
4. Whilst you are a boy, learn to work with your hands — that will make your brain strong. With clever hands and a strong brain you have a double chance in life.
5. Stick to your school till the last possible moment, and make good use of it. And “keep it up” by going to a continuation school when you leave the day school, or you will find, in a year or two, that you have forgotten much that you knew.
6. Remember that in the continuation schools you can receive instruction in courses of study directly related to the trade or business which you propose to learn, and that you can continue at a very moderate cost the advanced stages of these courses at the Heriot-Watt College or the College of Art.
7. If the work you take up does not suit you, or does not seem to lead to any hopeful future, stick to it till you get something really better. Do not wander from one

work to another, but come back to your school and tell your teacher; he may be able to direct you to those who can advise you in choosing your next work more carefully. You will find nothing perfect; but a good fight and a hard one before you are eighteen will make the rest of life more easy.

8. The educational information and employment department, 14 Cornwall Street, is open daily from 10 A.M. to 4 P.M. (Saturday, 10 A.M. to 12.30 P.M.), and on certain Monday evenings from 7 to 9. You can there obtain — free of charge — advice and information as to suitable employment and further education, and through the agency of the department you may obtain employment for which you are fitted.

Thoughts for a girl on leaving school

1. Consider what you are best fitted for; ask your parents and your teacher what they think.
2. Choose healthy work; remember that domestic service offers food, home, and comfort as well as work and wages; that it is the training for the future home life of a woman; and that, with character and ability, it will command good wages in any part of the country.
3. If you prefer a trade, choose one in which you will be likely to find employment anywhere and at any time; learn it thoroughly so that employers will value your services. Do not change from one thing to another without good reason.
4. Stick to your school to the last possible moment, and make good use of it; later on you will see, better than you do now, how much the school work has helped. And "keep it up" by going to a continuation school when you leave the day school.
5. Remember that in the continuation schools you can receive instruction in subjects which are directly related to the various occupations open to girls and young women, and also the domestic training which will enable you to discharge with intelligent interest the responsible practical duties of the home.

6. If the work you take up is not satisfactory, stick to it till you get something really better. In any case come back to the school and tell your teacher how you are getting on.
7. Be brave and cheerful in whatever work you choose. You will find nothing perfect; but perseverance and hard work during the first few years will make the rest of life more easy.
8. The educational information and employment department, 14 Cornwall Street, is open daily from 10 A.M. to 4 P.M. (Saturday 10 A.M. to 12.30 P.M.), and on Monday evenings from 7 to 9. You can there obtain — free of charge — advice and information as to suitable employment and further education, and through the agency of the department you may obtain employment for which you are fitted.

All the Edinburgh schools have received copies of the occupational census, besides a series of booklets for boys and for girls. A copy is sent to each girl approaching the leaving age. The boys' booklets thus far issued are: *How to become an Engineer*, *How to become a Printer*, and *How to enter Civil Service*. In the twenty or more pages of these booklets the following points are covered: —

1. List of industries, trades, and professions of the town or district, with names of chief employers.
2. Local demands for young workers in the various trades and industries.
3. Qualifications most required in the various occupations.
4. Conditions of apprenticeship for each trade, etc.
5. Beginner's weekly wage.
6. Minimum and maximum rates of remuneration.
7. Possibilities of promotion, etc.
8. Statements regarding further educational courses and the requirements of employers.

Follow-up work, as it is known in Birmingham and London, does not exist in Edinburgh, but the interest of the advisory council in its work is as great as that of any committee. The function of this council is that of advising the board as to matters connected with the training required for the occupations open to Edinburgh boys and girls, the conditions of employment, and general matters of school efficiency. There are sectional committees of the council composed of employers and workers, with an educator or other specially qualified persons added.

The main effort of the advisory council is directed toward the promotion of attendance at the continuation classes and at other institutions in which Edinburgh is fortunate. The aggressive policy followed for the past two years with reference to the evening instruction of all working minors has resulted in the enrollment of a large number of young people. Aided by the Law of 1908, section 10 of which permits the framing of rules for compulsory attendance at evening school, it is quite likely that Edinburgh will in time enroll all working minors in evening classes, just as Glasgow is attempting to do. When this stage is reached, it is to be hoped that the energy and public interest thus far manifested in this city for the evening instruction of working children will be devoted to the raising of the school age and to the daylight rather than the evening instruction of at least those children between fourteen and sixteen. The present arrangements take

more out of the growing children than the community should be willing to permit. No fourteen-or-fifteen-year-old boy can be safely confined to about ten hours of office, factory, or other work, and for two hours or more at mental labor in a classroom.

The importance of this matter has been recognized in Edinburgh with reference to the teaching staff. The severe strain on continuation-school teachers who have other work to do throughout the day has led the School Board to decide that the head teachers of the largest schools shall be relieved half-time from day-school work on such days as they are engaged in the evening school. Some such safeguard might well be applied to the growing adolescent in wage-earning at this period of peculiar moral and physical strain.

In concluding this account of the Edinburgh plan, it may be of interest to reproduce the regulations and suggestions pertaining to the working of the educational information and employment department: —

REGULATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS AS TO WORKING OF THE
EDUCATIONAL INFORMATION AND EMPLOYMENT
DEPARTMENT

1. Duties of director

1. To interview and advise boys and girls, and their parents or guardians if possible, with regard to (a) the occupations for which the boys and girls are suited by ability, taste, character, and education; (b) the further educational courses which bear directly on these occupations; and (c) the opportunities which exist in the various occupations.

2. To prepare leaflets and pamphlets or tabulated matter giving information to the scholars about continuation work.
3. To keep a record of all pupils who leave school; their educational attainments, the employment they enter upon, and their progress at continuation classes.
4. To send reports to employers when desired as to the progress and attendance of the employees at classes.
5. To organize such supervision, as is approved by the Board, of boys and girls after they have obtained employment both in regard to attendance at continuation classes and progress in their industrial career.
6. To act as organizer of the continuation classes, and to keep the system of further education in real touch with the industrial needs of the locality.
7. To report periodically on the work of the department.

2. Duties of head masters

1. To see that the registration cards for pupils leaving school are duly filled up and forwarded to the director.
2. To furnish such additional information regarding leaving pupils as may be required.
3. To coöperate with the Board in their special efforts to guide boys and girls into the continuation classes as soon as possible after the termination of their day-school career.
4. To arrange meetings of leaving pupils and their parents to be addressed by the visiting members of the Board in the month of November, or at such other times as is found more convenient.
5. To address collectively before the summer holidays the senior pupils on the question of choice of suitable occupation and early enrollment in continuation classes.
6. To grant to the parents of leaving pupils an interview to discuss the future of their children.
7. To give to pupils in their last year at every suitable opportunity advice regarding suitable employment and education.

3. Duties of parents and pupils

1. To give all information required for filling up the registration cards.
2. To make application to the head master or director for information and guidance.
3. Parents to see that their children stay at school until suitable employment has been obtained.
4. To intimate to the director particulars as to employment when it has been found.
5. Parents to see that their children pass on to continuation classes immediately on leaving the day school, and remain in attendance until they are eighteen years of age at least.

4. Suggested action by employers

1. To notify all vacancies for learners or apprentices, wherever possible, some time in advance.
2. To furnish details as to the rates of wages and conditions of employment in their respective trades, professions, or callings.
3. To apply for information regarding applicants for employment.
4. To encourage attendance of employees at continuation classes by one or more of the following methods, viz.:—
 - (a) Guarantee of fees.
 - (b) Special rewards.
 - (c) Exemption from overtime.
 - (d) Payment of extra wages to those who reach a given standard of attainment.
 - (e) Opportunities for promotion to specially qualified pupils.
 - (f) Facilities to attend classes during work hours.
 - (g) Direct personal interest shown by periodic visits to the continuation schools.
 - (h) Arranging meeting of workers to be addressed by a member of the board and the organizer of continuation classes.
5. To offer suggestions as to the equipment and schemes of work for trade and technical classes.

VII

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE AND HEALTH GUIDANCE

IN connection with the schemes just discussed, information is being collected about juvenile employment which in time will be of immense use in further protective legislation. The work of the volunteers, who are getting both experience and training in their association with the advisory committees, will in time become the nucleus of important movements for improving the conditions of juvenile employment. The devoted volunteer service is certain to work out a technique through more definite schemes of preparation for the important duties it involves. The fact should be borne in mind that advice, training, or placement cannot alone reform unsatisfactory conditions of child employment. There is much to be said in favor of a labor exchange, whether it be for juveniles or adults. It is certain social waste to leave the labor market unorganized. From the point of view of the child-welfare worker, however, and of the educator, the success of a placement scheme lies not in the increasing number of vacancies which are filled, but in the diminishing of the causes which send young people into premature or haphazard employment. Working

conditions are only slightly and indirectly affected by the kindly supervision of an advisory board.

It may be that in time certain labor exchanges, through exceptionally powerful advisory committees, will control the local labor supply to the extent of compelling more favorable conditions precedent to employment, but this is a long, uncertain, and roundabout method.

Experience teaches that legislative action alone can best cope effectively with so complex a situation. Evening industrial training for young workers cannot be regarded as more than a temporizing device. The growing tendency in the most advanced American school systems is to exclude children under seventeen from the evening schools. In the minority report of the British Royal Commission on the Poor-Laws will be found several paragraphs which sustain this position. The report states: —

Useful as evening continuation classes may be to particular individuals, it is impossible for boys who are exhausted by a whole day's toil to obtain either physical training or the necessary technical education. We have, therefore, come to the conclusion that if we want to turn into competent and trained workmen the 900,000 boys who now annually in the United Kingdom start wage-earning at something or other, there is only one plan. We must shorten the legally permissible hours of employment for boys, and we must require them to spend the hours so set free in physical and technological training.

This report, therefore, recommends: —

1. The statutory prohibition of the employment of any boy in any occupation below the age of fifteen.

2. The limitation of the hours of employment of any youth under eighteen.
3. The compulsory attendance of boys between fifteen and eighteen at a suitable public institute, giving physical training and technical education.

Every vocation scheme for the benefit of young people must inevitably reach these conclusions. Both the voluntary principle and the principle of benevolence break down or are thoroughly ineffective when confronted with the large mass of children whose energies and futures need to be protected. Nor can apprenticeship be regarded as a solution of the juvenile employment problem. England, like America, is quite in the dark as to what skilled and unskilled occupations really are, and consequently is little prepared to formulate the kind of training needed. Moreover, there has been during the last half-century an ever-increasing demand for low-skilled labor as a substitute for the hand-worker employed before the widespread application of power, ingenious machinery, and new systems of operation. It is, of course, true that the right working-out of the present labor registry and advisory plans must help better working conditions, as has been the case in the English post-office messenger-boy service. But the fact remains that industry will continue to use an enormous and increasing amount of unskilled or partially skilled labor, and it is inevitable that a large number of young people, probably the vast majority, will for a long time find their only opportunities in this field.

The most immediate problem with respect to these children, then, is not an extension of evening training facilities so much as it is a thoroughgoing scheme of protection; not the acquisition of manual skill, as it is the conservation of their physical and moral vitality. Industrial operations hold out diminishing educative possibilities. In the majority of occupations, indeed, there is no place for apprenticeship. Yet service to an individual or a group of individuals is none the less valuable because it fails to solve the problems of a multitude. Apprenticeship provisions should by all means be furthered, but as a general scheme for altering the present stage of non-educative and subdivided employments, it is an impossibility. What the schools must ask of employers, therefore, in view of industry's vanished educational responsibility, is at least a revival of the spirit and the motive in what was best in the old apprenticeship system. The employer's contribution to this end is made up of two important elements; he must provide the leisure, through shortened workdays, and give his practical coöperation to the school authorities, who are bound to take in hand the drifting or overworked adolescent. Above all else he must coöperate in what might be called the health guidance of the workers.

Every part of the United Kingdom has its certifying factory surgeons, so called, appointed by the chief inspector of factories. There are altogether two thousand of these officers who are frequently also medical

officers of health, and, most unfortunately, are paid for the examination of children by fees from the employers. The duties of the factory surgeons, under the Factory and Workshops Act of 1901 and 1907, and the order of the Secretary of State, are: —

- (a) To examine every child or young person under the age of sixteen within seven days (or thirteen days in the rare cases where the surgeon's residence is more than three miles from the place of work) of his commencement of work in a factory or in any workshop where one or more of the following processes are carried on: File-cutting, carriage-building, rope- and twine-making; brick- and tile-making; making of iron and steel cables, chains, anchors, grapnels, and cart-gear; making of nails, screws, rivets; baking bread, biscuits, or confectionery; fruit-preserving; making, altering, ornamenting, finishing, or repairing wearing apparel by the aid of the treadle sewing-machines.
- (b) To make certain examinations and inquiries in connection with accidents, workmen's compensation cases, and dangerous trades.

It should be noted that, under the Factory and Workshops Act, a worker under the age of sixteen must be reexamined each time he changes his place of employment. "Half-timers," that most pitiful class of spent children, must also be reexamined when they commence employment as "full-timers." Something like 500,000 examinations are made annually. In 1910, nearly 8500 children were rejected as being physically unfit for employment, a suspiciously small number.

In the United Kingdom, as in the United States, there has been little intelligent effort to correlate the

work of employment health inspection with the social and vocational needs of working children.

Coöperation is essential from every point of view. There is nothing to prevent the child rejected at the factory gate by the factory surgeon from obtaining employment in an occupation outside the Factory Act and removed from any legal scrutiny, employment often infinitely more harmful physically than that from which he has been rejected. Because home and school figure so little in the present method of medical factory inspection, the rejected child is frequently unable to explain to the parent the physician's reason for rejection. The Factory Act stipulates that a written explanation of the reason for rejection shall be given, but this provision is a dead letter.

An exceptional illustration of the coöperation here suggested may be found in the efficient work of the medical officer (school) for Dewsbury. In this instance there is the fortunate fact that the medical officer is also the certifying factory surgeon, a situation which gives him the opportunity to see the child in school before employment, and in the places of employment at the time of being engaged.

This physician has made it his business, wholly on his own initiative, to notify the Dewsbury advisory committee for juvenile employment of the rejections made which needed the attention of the committee. The committee's secretary or some member visits the parent until the children obtain suitable employment

or medical treatment. In addition to giving information of rejected cases, another group of children is also reported to the advisory committee. A certifying factory surgeon meets with certain children who may have some defect which careful treatment can remedy and thus prevent later and more serious obstacles to passing a medical inspection.

The following table shows the cases of all kinds reported by the Dewsbury certifying factory surgeon to the advisory committee and dealt with during the year 1911 to April, 1912:—

Cases notified as rejected from employment.....	52
Cases where conditions have improved and the children are now in suitable employment.....	19
Cases where children have received medical treatment and are now in suitable employment.....	31
Cases of children unfit for employment.....	2
Cases of delicate children in employment notified.....	24
Total number of cases rejected and delicate visited and reported on	76

On page 155 is an interesting table of cases in connection with the Dewsbury work, interesting because of the comments recorded on the conditional certificates.

The Dewsbury advisory committee has made an investigation not only of working children, but also of school children who work out of hours, an evil which does not as a rule come to the notice of the medical or any other officers.

Such surveys of the range of employments in which children are found, and of the working hours of chil-

Year	Reason	Work allowed	Work forbidden
1908	1. Lateral curvature of spine.	Attend loom.	Not to lift heavy baskets, etc.
1909	2. Defective vision. 1. Defective vision, lateral nystagmus (congenital).	Folding blankets. Simple handwork, and general errand work in patent - glazing factory.	Machine work. Work with machinery.
1910	1. Mentally somewhat dull. 2. Too young.	Paper-box making by hand. Making firewood into bundles.	Anything to do with cutting or machinery of any kind. Not to chop wood, work at machinery, or carry heavy weights.
	3. Small stature.	Errand boy.	Do.
	4. Do.	Do.	Do.
1911	1. Left knock-knee.	Fringing machine, as this allows sitting.	Work necessitating prolonged standing.
	2. Operations for hernia years ago.	Ordinary work.	No lifting or carrying weights.
	3. Small stature.	Giving in.	No weight lifting or work with machinery in motion.
	4. Knock-knee.	Sew buttons on blouses.	Not to use machines.
	5. Heart disease.	Do.	Do.
1912	1. Small stature.	Giving in.	Nothing else in connection with weaving.
	2. Do.	Winding.	Nothing entailing overreaching or weight lifting.
	3. Post-laparotomy scar.	Light work in connection with printing.	Prolonged standing or machine work.

dren whose energies are presumed to be dedicated to the State in the work of growth and self-improvement, are suggestive of the possible disclosures, once advisory committees, schools, and medical officers unite, as they should, in a comprehensive policy of protecting youth. There have been some investigations into the physical condition of working school children. While differences in the health of such children have been found to be dependent in part upon the nature of the occupation, the strain, confinement, etc., all this evidence points to a too early beginning of work as a prime source of breakdown and later incapacity.

The relation of medical supervision to the right start in vocation is clear enough. Inspection at the leaving stage is indispensable. All vocational counseling, labor exchange service, and after-care work must take their

cue from the physician's report. Examination at this stage reveals the results of school life, home environment, incidental employment, and the heredity problems of the work-beginners. At no other period in a youth's life is medical supervision more necessary, and from a public point of view more urgent. The prevailing practice in the countries discussed, as with our own, shows a too slight regard for this vital matter. The whole scheme of factory legislation, in general, rests on insecure foundations if the medical supervision of adolescent workers is inefficient. Medical investigations in England have shown that physically unfit children are liable to a high degree of accident in the course of their work. An intrinsic value in medical supervision, from the employer's point of view, is that it supplies a proper method of individual selection of workers.

What may yet be accepted as a necessity in the English scheme of vocational assistance is the appointment of special medical officers for advisory committees, who shall act in a coördinate capacity with the school medical officer and the factory surgeon. These medical advisers would probably be assigned to work in connection with all the various types of schools, such as evening schools and trade schools, and with the children who use the labor exchanges.

Inspection at the place or time of employment goes only part way. The child-helping schemes, so extensive throughout England and Scotland, need above all else the reënforcement of a medical department with

full powers to investigate occupations in their relation to a sound physical development. A school system whose medical inspection is perfunctory, and whose methods of granting work certificates are not thoroughly integrated with all its vocational efforts, can hardly be pronounced as efficiently organized or capable of doing good guidance service. The absence of medical research and health guidance provisions in almost all vocational-help enterprises, abroad and in our own country, is responsible for much of their ineffectiveness.

VIII

THE SCHOOL AND THE START IN LIFE

EVERY experienced teacher and social worker knows that, however valuable the impersonal collecting of social data may be, the power for most effective human service comes only from a union of scientific method and personal contact with the problems of individuals. To the methods of technical research we owe those tools for thorough work not possible to those who rely on kindly impulses alone. For their sound advance, the fields of vocational guidance and training require much more expert research than has as yet been devoted to them. Yet that blend of science and creative sympathy which we find in the work of all true educators may be said finally to be the most precious element in human service; in thorough "case-work," combined with genuinely close relationships, may we hope to find the clue to sound social and educational policy.

There is no difficulty in understanding the pressure from the side of the employer, and of many schools also, for a vocational-guidance scheme which looks mainly to the immediate needs of children who must or do leave for work. Not unreasonable, moreover, is the occasional intimation that vocational guidance without active provisions for employment is at best in-

complete. To some people, indeed, the placement features of vocational guidance are alone practical, while the efforts looking to a reorganization of school and vocational opportunity in terms of career-values, which may be said to be the mainspring of the vocational-guidance movement, appear to them as a commendable though rather remote ideal.

The truth is, however, that vocational guidance does concern itself with all the problems of work-getting, with helping children to a start in life in a way less wasteful than the present, and with active supervision of youth's vocational skirmishes.

This chapter will attempt to suggest a policy for the relation of schools to the start in life of their children, profiting so far as possible by the lessons and cautions of both American and foreign experience. In the absence thus far in this country of any considerable progress in connecting school with employment, it is, of course, obvious that little more than a tentative outline of a policy and of the possible next steps can be ventured; yet for all that later actual experience may suggest in the way of detail, there are certain principles fundamental to any service connected with the start in life. All social workers, educators who make their school work function as social service, and efficient workers connected with the movements for vocational guidance and education, are in no doubt as to the need of taking the next steps and as to what at least some of these steps should be.

To students of the problem considered here, then, it is clear that a thorough scheme of vocational advising and of training necessarily involves provisions for work-finding, for work supervision, and for investigations which yield material for enlightening public opinion and furthering legislative action. Vocational service of any kind is so large an undertaking that specialized phases of it may well occupy the time of any organization, but it is submitted that any scheme of vocational service which does not in some way come in direct contact with the problems connected with the actual start in life of youth is in danger of finding itself an unreal undertaking, busied with lifeless abstractions regarding shadowy beings, instead of live men and women and children.

Workers in the fields of vocational education and guidance, therefore, whether they be in vocational schools, labor exchanges, advisory committees, or vocational-guidance enterprises, are expected to face their task from two standpoints when helping young people to a start in life. They are forced, necessarily, to deal with the working world as they find it, and they are equally obligated to illumine their work with an ideal of what ought to be the conditions. A knowledge of existing conditions is the foundation of the daily, personal service which a vocational agency is called upon to render; but without the corrective of a social vision any vocational scheme, whatever may be its immediate practical benefits, can hardly be regarded

as an important instrument of human conservation. The knowledge here suggested is not that based on mere fragmentary accumulation of many kinds of occupational details, gathered in the glimpses of a visit or even many visits to work-places; it must be knowledge founded on data organized by the specialist trained in the technique of vocational investigation. The vision and ideal here suggested are not a vague and futile longing for something different, but an intelligent purpose founded on clear sight of a goal, and expressing itself in aggressive and telling ways.

We have seen that school life is sharply ended at the option of children who go to work as soon as the law will let them. Likewise is it clear that this leaving time has been socially neglected and the children exposed to peculiar dangers. The child's entry into working life has not been generally looked upon as a special concern of the school. Individual teachers and school principals have always, doubtless, taken a lively interest in the work careers of individual children or even of classes. But outside a few cities in this country, one will not find any systematic effort to compile and interpret the work histories of children who have left school for employment; and few indeed are the agencies which concern themselves actively with the transition problems of youth in the abyss between school and work. There are, to be sure, the vocational schools and vocational departments of our high schools, which, as a matter of course, are more or less engaged in se-

curing employment for those whom they have trained. Not even these schools, for the most part, have gone beyond the mere placement stage for their pupils, and not many have scrutinized the occupations sufficiently to influence their own curriculum. But if the vocational schools, close to work conditions though they presumably are, and more pressingly required than other types of schools to concern themselves with the start in life, have, on the whole, so little organized the machinery and formulated the principles of service in helping young people during the transition period, what shall we say as to the public schools generally?

The children who leave the schools, whether they graduate or drop out, are obliged to find themselves, somehow or other, as workers. The schools have done little, specifically, to point the way. In a sense the schools deserve much praise for the little they have been doing toward a vocational start in life; for with no resources, time, or preparation their efforts in this difficult field could only have been absurdly inadequate and possibly harmful. Several causes account for the failure on the part of the public to support the schools in organizing the much needed start-in-life service. In the first place, the schools have been kept so busy with what is called preparing for life that the teachers have been given no opportunity for more active contact with that life. The American public has not called too vigorously for such vital participation on the part of the teachers. In fact, the situation thus

far has not been greatly encouraging to that growing number of teachers who are disheartened over much of the present lifeless routine of fitting for life. Society has been unaware of the moral hazards and the hard perplexities which the young job-seeker experiences. Finally, a persisting idea looks upon work-seeking and employment as a private concern of the individual, and the employment bargain and all that follows it as nothing more than the personal affair of the bargaining parties.

Now, our best practice and conviction continually belie this outworn notion. That society does feel a vital stake in all that attaches to the employment contract, particularly of minors, is demonstrated by the great variety of protective measures going forward, such as school and work certificates, vocation bureaus, health and factory inspection, licensing rules for employment agencies, and the increasing number of child-labor laws and of state-aided vocational-training opportunities.

The English system of juvenile advisory committees rests on a clear recognition of society's duty to protect and befriend its young work-beginners. The increasing importance of school people in the work of these committees is suggestive of the place which the schools will occupy in the near future as guardians of the adolescent.

From two directions the schools are compelled more and more to consider their relations to the start in vo-

cation. On the one hand, the movements for vocational training and guidance bring the school face to face with the occupational world; on the other, the organization of the labor market through public employment offices, a field in which we have been thus far backward, will oblige the schools to work out a policy with respect to these agencies. As yet few States maintain public employment offices; but, doubtless, there will be many more as the wastefulness of present work-seeking methods is realized. Yet even then not many schools will be satisfied merely to refer their leaving children to a near-by public employment office, with no voice, oversight, or power as regards its management.

To a marked degree the success of vocational guidance and training efforts is conditioned by the thoroughness of their articulation with working conditions and with social movements. Within a well-defined sphere of its own in the school system, vocational service is of the utmost value. It endeavors to help pupils to self-knowledge, and to reconstruct school programs in order that they may more sensitively minister to the self-discovery and economic needs of different pupils. Vocational service — both guidance and training are here included — is an instrument for talent saving, and for interpreting school life in terms of career values. In its larger relationships, however, vocational help is only one phase of the social organization of school and vocation. It introduces into

education the motive of the life-career and the idea of fitness of the individual, apart from class or group; it introduces into employment the idea of fitness of the task, and appraises the occupations in terms of career prospects as well as social worth.

The passing of the Labor Exchanges Act in Great Britain was facilitated by the belief that a personal advisory service in connection with work-seeking would help lessen the waste due both to aimless job-hunting and to misemployment. No little addition to the volume of unemployment comes from what Mr. W. H. Beveridge, Director of the Labor Exchanges, calls "qualitative maladjustment." No more promising agency than the public school exists to undertake the task of qualitative vocational adjustment. The question, then, arises as to whether the public-school system would best undertake alone to deal with the start in vocation or leave it to other agencies, while reserving for itself the task of providing for needs which arise in the course of employment, such as further training opportunities. It is submitted that the schools will have to concern themselves, actively and dominantly, with every phase of the vocational start in life.

Is the average school system ready to undertake this new and enormously difficult business? It is not. Indeed, so little is it prepared to do this work at the present time that a hasty undertaking of it would probably indicate a lack of understanding. It is doubtful, in

the first place, if a school department can alone effectively organize the labor market for young workers. The pronouncements on this subject by Scotch and English authorities are convincing. On the whole, experience seems to support the proposition that the school system should not attempt the organization of the labor market for the young, and the correlative proposition that the carrying-on of juvenile employment agencies, without some control over them by the school, is not in the best interests of the children.

It is assumed that work-seeking in this country will more and more come under the direction of public agencies; for we are almost the only advanced industrial country to tolerate the present demoralizing chaos of an unorganized labor market. Public labor bureaus, when rightly managed and understood, are capable of considerably larger services than labor registration, important though this is. Developments in the best of these bureaus in England and in Germany foreshadow a new type of civic center and instrument for industrial betterment. Everywhere, as we have seen, the best practice is to separate the juvenile from the adult departments of these bureaus, and the girls' from the boys' departments. More and more the young work-seekers' problems are coming to be treated as something distinctly different from those of adults. We are confronted, then, with the need of organizing employment provisions for the young, and, in con-

nection with such provisions, formulating a policy of social and educational protection.

The public school must remember the fact that it is, primarily, an educational institution with social aims. What a century of child-welfare effort and experience has taught the friends of working children, the schools least of all can afford to ignore. More than any other institution, the school must stand for a high minimum of protection for all children. It is not to the credit of our schools that, in a large measure, they have been unaware of a situation which many an employer has known for some time, and this is, the economic uselessness of children from fourteen to sixteen. Schools have sometimes been willing to plunge into small or large employment schemes as if full-time work could be right for growing children.

Of the public schools, more than of any other institution, public or private, we have the right to expect a clear vision and a determined stand with respect to the unbargainable interests of childhood and youth. Private societies may, by way of experiment, make concessions and compromises in order to carry out their various purposes, but in the practice of the public-school system we look for demonstration of the permanent principles which should control the vocational world in which young people find themselves.

There are three distinct aspects of the problem of adolescent employment — the educational, economic, and social. Through extension of vocational-training

opportunities, and especially through the provision for prevocational schools, — which, when their purposes are better understood, will become *self-discovery schools*, and as such afford young people and their teachers a most important basis for vocational guidance, — the schools are beginning to deal with the first of the three aspects named.

As public labor offices grow in number, the economic side of the problem will be given at least a preliminary treatment. This will not be more than preliminary, however, for a juvenile employment department is, notwithstanding general opinion, a placement instrument only incidentally. In facing the third or social aspect of the entire problem we find the clue for satisfactory organization.

This proposed social basis for juvenile labor organization is intended not so much to protect the boy worker or girl worker against employers as against themselves. The great difficulty in dealing with the boy who is about to leave school for work lies in the fact that he regards himself as a worker who has outgrown the learner. Not until disastrous experience has overtaken many of these children do they begin to realize how much a learning attitude would have meant in making a career. A large part of this difficulty is due to leaving the question of the boy's future unconsidered until school-leaving time.

As we do things piecemeal in this country, we are likely to find in a number of places a vocation bureau

in the school, with perhaps a number of vocational-training classes; a separate employment bureau of the city or State to which boys are sent or drift; and perhaps a detached private or semi-public advisory body with no real power, — all making futile efforts to assist the troubled children. If we are to do this work of relating school to employment as it should be done, we must provide, in the law establishing labor offices, for a separate juvenile department, managed by an independent executive committee appointed by the school system, which committee shall be made up of school people, employers, social workers, and employees, to advise as to the school vocational guidance and training activities, on the one hand, and manage the occupational research and placement supervision activities of the labor bureau, on the other. This committee should be empowered through health officers and other trained specialists, to examine working children; to take them out of work-places, if need be; and through scientific investigations to list occupations from the point of view of opportunity as well as their manifold influences upon the worker. Children under sixteen should be under training, part-time at least, until the public is ready properly to care for their entire fourteen- to sixteen-year period.

From what has been said regarding the duties of a juvenile employment agency, with its suggested two-fold powers, — namely, close supervision of the vocational activities of the school system and control over

placement and its associated features, — it is clear that “employment agency” is a misnomer. Perhaps a better name for such a body and agency would be the “vocational help bureau.” Service, coördinated with the work of all existing upbuilding agencies, is indeed the main business of an employment office for minors. There are problems connected with such employment of the greatest importance to the public, and on these we have as yet little or no information. These are the amount of juvenile underemployment, misemployment, and unemployment; the causes of maladjustment, and how far training, and what kind of training, can lessen these causes; and what the occupations in their thoroughly analyzed requirements mean to the workers and society. To enlighten the public as to these matters and secure such constructive legislation as may be necessary is, perhaps, the most far-reaching work which such a bureau can do.

It is not hard to conceive that such a public enterprise, organically connected with the schools, which combines help to groping youth with social planning, must in time influence both school and occupation so that both will work together to safeguard, strengthen, equip, and inspire boys and girls for their appropriate work to an extent nowhere as yet realized.

IX

THE SOCIAL GAIN THROUGH VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

THE vocational-guidance movement belongs to those efforts of our time making for the enhancement of individual and social life. Community of action has become more easy; social insight and the will to serve have increased. The movement for husbanding the serving powers of youth is a practical expression of the deeper motives underlying the conservation projects of our day.

Closer contact with the life of the struggling and revelations of their capacity for better vocational purposes than many now serve, strengthen the conviction that the field of employment in even its humblest aspect will not long remain untouched by the reconstructive hand of our generation. Perhaps a deeper discernment will disclose the "one talent which is death to hide" as the possession of even the lowliest, and we shall no longer find contentment in a quiescent pity for the unsuccessful by the fulsome bestowal of honors on those who have won out. It is lack of imagination to accept our waste of human material as necessary to the cultivation of the captains and leaders of men. A truer understanding of human possibilities refutes this elemental notion.

Nearly every profession to-day represents an evolution from a stage of crudeness and social disesteem. But those who entered them with vision and educational purpose helped to create professions out of what seemed unpromising callings. The common vocations are undergoing profound changes. New ideals of their functions are prophetic of the demands they will make upon their future practitioners. The new opportunities belong to those who can apprehend the changing situation.

Preventive medicine offers departments of service as varied as society itself, and specialists in social health will find modern life eager for their ministrations. The profession of law, conservative though it be, is calling for the lawyer with intelligence for constructive social legislation and the skill to formulate adequate legal principles for vexed industrial relations; the architect and the builder are needed in housing solutions for modern urban congestion; and the real-estate operator and the transportation expert are called upon to contribute their foresight and their skill to the working-out of city plans. Whatever overcrowding there may be in the conventional grooves of the vocations, none has as yet taken place in their latest and socialized form. It is the privilege of the vocational counselor to watch for these new outlets in vocational service, and to guide the fit into promising avenues of usefulness.

A young Bohemian, an undergraduate in a large uni-

versity, was preparing himself for the law. His father is a Pennsylvania coal-miner, and during the summer the young man helped him in the colliery, earning enough in that way to pay for his board and tuition during the college year. He came to the Vocation Bureau of Boston with questions as to what prospects for successful practice among Americans a young foreigner like himself could expect. It was clear that this intelligent and energetic young man would get along, and he was reassured on this point, but it seemed important to remind him that very few of his nationality had achieved the advantages of life in a great New England university, that his people had few representatives, indeed, who could interpret them to Americans and America to them, and that his largest success as a well-trained lawyer would lie, not in detaching himself from his own, but in serving both them and the Americans in the opportunities that would surely be his.

Signs are not wanting in the liberal professions, in manufacturing, in business, and, indeed, in most occupations, of a growing band of practical idealists who conceive their pursuits in terms of community service as well as of livelihood. They are giving new life to old callings and are stimulating the youth of our land to new measurements of achievement.

We have been for so long awed by the wonderful subdivision and specialization in the vocations that we have forgotten the most impressive fact about them.

This is their social interdependence. As we become more sensitive to social organization, we perceive how superficial is the barrier of vocation. The scientific classification of flowers and trees does not make nature less an organic whole. So the promotion of special schools and training courses for the development of skill in particular vocations cannot make less real the fraternity of workers. Zones of influence and consequences reach far beyond the view of the individual worker who causes them. A fundamental value in vocational training and guidance is the sense it brings to the student of his relationships. We pursue our callings in forgetfulness of the essential "team play" in working life, and the vocational guidance which brings to light one's interplay of work with that of his fellows contributes toward lifting the daily stint above the commonplace.

The demand upon the vocations each for its distinctive social contribution carries with it a corresponding ideal for the vocational career as a whole. We have been proceeding on an unsound assumption that for the many the dynamic period of youthful growth is intended for a static period of struggle for the daily bread. The young worker's pathetic snatches at growth throughout long days of drudgery, his surreptitious reading of a book at the bench, the day-dreaming and the craving for self-realization, the petty infraction of rules, continually illuminate the resistance of young human nature against the prospect of stagnation.

Only a conception of working life as continuing education can appease the God-given hungers of youth. This is not fancy. We find successful business houses proud of the types of men and women they develop by the educational opportunities they afford their employees, and this not as charity but as fundamental good business. Developing the intelligence of the employees and satisfying their instinct for educational experience in the work they are doing has become the self-assumed duty of the most enlightened employers. The socially imaginative business man, manufacturer, and professional man are joining hands with the progressive educator in the call for more educational returns from the wage-earning career.

Of what use are the sacrifices made in the training and guidance of youth if the subsequent conditions of employment nullify their influence? The fitting of youth for appropriate life-pursuits cannot proceed without a corresponding fitness on the part of the occupations themselves. The readjustments in education will have to go hand in hand with like readjustments in the avenues of occupation. Work and school cannot be safely kept apart in a democracy. Each has a vital meaning to the other, and they must share in common the burden of fitting the coming generation for its best achievements. Alike they must share this vision and this purpose, or else vocational chaos will continue its disastrous course.

Society pours its youthful blood into the world of

wage-earning, and in return it asks coöperation in protecting its most precious assets. There can be no question that working life under proper conditions is youth's best discipline. The demand upon the vocations for social coöperation is not made in a spirit unappreciative of their character-building possibilities. Rather is this social challenge to the occupations a full recognition of the community's loss in the present abyss between making a living and making a life.

To these socially efficient ideals, therefore, — the enriching of school life with vocational purpose and the enriching of working life with educational purpose, — the vocational-guidance movement addresses itself. Education, the professions, industry, and commerce all belong to our children. To conserve their inheritance and to lift them to their future opportunities, the friends of the vocational-guidance movement join those who labor for youth and a sound citizenship.

SUGGESTIVE MATERIAL

THE purpose of this section is to present schedules used by vocation bureaus and committees, questionnaires, outlines of vocational talks, and specimens of other material of special interest to students of vocational guidance.

I. SCHEDULES AND QUESTIONNAIRES

Schedules used by the Vocation Bureau of Cincinnati	179-187
Schedule used in the Evening School Inquiry by the Committee on Women's Work, Russell Sage Foundation	188
Schedule used by the Committee on Vocational Scholarships, Henry Street Settlement, New York	190, 191
Schedules used for vocational guidance by the Boston Public Schools	192-197
Schedules used in vocational guidance investigations for the New York City Administration, in 1915, under the direction of the Vocation Bureau of Boston	198-202
Points for discussion used in a series of conferences with New York school officials by the Vocation Bureau of Boston	203, 204
Questionnaire for High-School Pupils, Somerville, Massachusetts	205

II. RECORD OF A BOSTON SCHOOL VOCATIONAL COUNSELOR

III. SPECIMENS OF TALKS GIVEN BEFORE THE BOSTON VOCATIONAL COUNSELORS

The Educational Side of the Shoe Industry	217
Lunch-Room and Restaurant Work for Young Women	220
The Opportunity of the High-School Student in Lunch-Room and Restaurant Work	225
Electrical Engineering	228
The Building Trades	234
The Profession of the Architect	238
Trained Nursing	241

IV. EXAMPLE OF OCCUPATIONAL STUDY FOR THE USE OF THE LONDON JUVENILE LABOR EXCHANGES

Report on Inquiry into Conditions of Juvenile Employment in Steam Laundries in London	244
---	-----

V. MATERIAL USED FOR VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE BY THE GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN, JUNIOR AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

Vocational Guidance Work, Grand Rapids Junior and Senior High Schools:—

Seventh and Eighth Grades	255
Ninth Grade	256
Tenth Grade	257
Eleventh Grade	259
Twelfth Grade	259

Vocation Bureau of Cincinnati

Name.....Address.....
Age.....Date of birth.....Birthplace.....
Creed.....Name of pastor or priest.....
Occupation : (a) Father.....(b) Mother.....Grade.....
School attended.....Last day.....
Standing.....Spelling.....Writing.....Eng. grammar.....Geography.....Arithmetic.....
School attendance record.....
Special training.....Manual.....Domestic science.....
Conduct.....If troublesome, state reason.....
Application.....Punctuality.....
Remarks:.....

Source — Age and Schooling certificate record.

SCHEDULE 1 (continued)

What schools have you attended ?.....	.....
What studies did you like best ?.....	Least ?.....
Were you absent much ?.....	If so, why ?.....
Did you prefer to leave school ?.....	Age.....
Work before age of fourteen ?.....	Before school.....After school.....Errand.....
	Selling papers.....Peddling.....Boot-blackening.....Other.....Earnings.....
Why are you going to work, — does your family need your help ?.....	.....
Home conditions.....	.....
(1) What is nationality and birthplace of (a) Father ?.....	(b) Mother ?.....
(2) Languages spoken by (a) Father ?.....	(b) Mother ?.....
(3) Language of the home.....	.....
(4) Mother, a wage earner, (a) at home ?.....	(b) Outside ?.....
(5) Number of rooms ?.....	.....
(6) Lodgers ?.....	.....

Source — The child.

PHYSICAL EXAMINATION

SCHEDULE II

Name.....	Number.....	Sex.....	Height.....	Weight.....
Family history				
Number of other children.....	No. of child.....			
Mother's condition.....				
Father's condition.....	Rheumatism.....Cancer.....			
Tuberculosis.....	Syphilis.....Heart disease.....			
Personal history				
Mumps.....	Measles.....		Whooping cough.....Scarlet.....	
Diphtheria.....	Typhoid.....		Pneumonia.....	
Health during past year.....				
Present condition				
Earache.....	Headache.....		Eyes.....Cough.....	
Expectoration.....	Night sweats.....		Sore throat.....Appetite.....	
Fatigue.....	Color.....			
Examination				
Tonsils.....	Adenoids.....		Cervical glands.....	
Thyroid gland.....	Teeth.....		Mucous membranes.....Gums.....	
Chest.....	Lungs.....		Inspiration.....Expiration.....Excursion.....	
Vital capacity.....	Heart.....		Pulse rate.....Rhythm.....Temperature.....	
Spine.....	Posture.....		Feet.....Skin.....Rash.....	

SCHEDULE III

Via A.C.	V.R.E.	And, Right	Grin Right
----------	--------	------------	------------

(182)

INDUSTRIAL HISTORY

SCHEDULE IV

No..... Name.....

Jobe	Date of		Use of unemployed time	Industry	Kind of work
	Taking	Leaving			
1
2
3
4

	Hours	Overtime	Earnings		How found	Child's reason for leaving	Employer's reason for leaving
			Time	Piece			
1
2
3
4

SCHEDULE IV (continued)

Jobs	1	2	3	4
1 Ease of finding.....
2 Fatigue { a b
3 Earnings { a b
4 Apprentice { a b
5 Continuation of education.....
6 Relation of studies to work.....
7 Enjoyment of work.....
8 Free time.....
9 Work and school.... { a b
10 Combination of work and school.....

SCHEDULE IV (continued)

Name.....	No.....	Present industry.....	Present job.....
1. Satisfaction with present occupation.....	.....	Expected permanence of it.....	.....
2. Best paid job expected.....	.....	Length of time necessary to get it.....	.....
3. Other better jobs in occupation, and hindrances from getting these.....	.....	.....	.....
4. Expected highest earnings in top job.....	.....	No. years necessary to reach this.....	.....
5. Amount of slack time during a year. (<i>Slow</i> time and <i>off</i> time periods).....	.....	.....	.....
6. Have you figured out consequent reduction in wages per week during entire year?.....	.....	.....	.....
7. Enjoyment in work, and real interest, or merely work because of ease as a method of earning a living?.....	.....	.....	.....
8. Other jobs preferred, if you had the right start and could make as much?.....	.....	.....	.....
9. { Factors in choosing present occupation..... Which is the main reason for decision.....	A. Parents' advice.....		
	B. Parent in the occupation.....		
	C. Friend or relative in job.....		
	D. Own preference after several trials.....		
	E. Other reasons.....		
10. What is your feeling about the need in schools of telling boys more about jobs and advising them?.....	.....	.....	.....

SCHEDULE V

Name.....Address.....No.....
 Neighborhood: General character.....Residence or industrial.....Nationality.....
 S. T.
 Home: Type of building.....Condition of building.....Premises.....Toilet.....
 No. of rooms.....Floor.....Light.....Ventilation.....Water location.....
 Order.....Cleanliness.....Furnishings.....
 Family: P.
 Own or guardian.....Total No. in home.....Boarders.....Lodgers.....Married or away.....Dead.....
 F. M.
 Health record.....Cause of death.....
 Nationality.....Remarks:.....

Wage-earners	Kind of work	Weekly earnings	Am't kept for self	Unemployment	Expenses
					Rent.....Month.....
					Food.....Week.....Lunches.....
					Insurance.....
					Instruction.....Savings.....

Child: Home responsibility.....Use of spare time.....Trade ambition.....
 Parents' reason why child stopped school.....Special school.....Use of earnings.....
 Parents' attitude towards child's education. 1-A. 2-B. 3-C. 4-D. 5 Child's work. 1. 2. 3. A-B. X-Y
 Parents' attitude towards child. 1-A. 2-B. 3-C. 4-D. 5-E. 6-F.
 General impression of home.....
 Date.....Investigator.....Source of information.....

SCHEDULE V (continued)

Remarks:.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

This side not to be filled in by pupil

	Number of evenings attended in each month, 1910-1911	Remarks
September
October
November
December
January
February
March
April
May
Total

Schedules of Committees on Vocational Scholarships, Henry Street Settlement

Name	Address	Date of birth
Reported by	Address	Date
School record	Grade	Efficiency
Presented to committee	Scholarship	Amount
placed by committee	Course of study	Date

Name	Age	Occupation	Weekly income	Physical condition	Other sources of income	Aid contributed
Father.....
Mother.....
Children.....	Relatives.....	.....
.....
.....	Societies interested.....	.....
.....
.....	Total income.....	Rent.....
.....	Rooms.....
Remarks:.....						

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL VOCATIONAL RECORD CARD—GRADUATES

Name.....School and year.....

Date of birth.....Place of birth.....

Parent's name.....Occupation.....

Residence.....

Parent's plans for pupil.....

Pupil excels in or likes what subjects?.....

Pupil fails in or dislikes what subjects?.....

Physique.....

Pupil's plan — (a trade, a profession, business).....

Attend school, or work next year?.....

What school?.....

Intend to graduate?.....

After High School, what?.....

(College — Tech. — Normal — Trade School — Special School — Work)

If going to work, where do you expect to work?.....

What kind of work?.....

Why do you choose this work?.....

What further education do you intend to get?.....

HIGH SCHOOL VOCATIONAL RECORD CARD

FIRST YEAR (October 1)

Name.....From.....School.....

Entered.....High School.....

Object in attending High School?.....

Intends to graduate?.....

What school after High? { Normal.....Technical.....College.....

Preparing for business — trade — or profession?.....

Preparing for what particular work?.....

Greatest aptitude.....

THIRD YEAR (October 1)

Have you changed plans since first year?.....

If so, what are they?.....

Left this High School:.....

Reason:.....

Schedules of Boston Public Schools

OCCUPATIONAL RECORD

Name.....Address.....

School.....Grade.....

Date of leaving.....Certificate.....Date issued.....

Can the industrial outlook of this person be bettered?.....

How?.....

	First occupation	Second occupation	Third occupation
Date employed.....
Firm name.....
Firm address.....
Position (how found)
Kind of work.....
Vocational intent shown in occupation accepted.....
Chance for advancement.....
Initial wage.....
Increases.....
Reason for increases.....
Hours.....
Date of leaving.....
Employer's statement.....
Employee's statement

SCHOOL RECORD

Date of birth.....Age.....Yrs.....Mos.....

Birthplace

Years in school.....Graduated.....

Reasons for leaving school.....

.....

.....

General financial condition of the family.....

.....

.....

Pupil excels in or likes what subjects?.....

.....

.....

Pupil fails in or dislikes what subjects?.....

.....

.....

Physique.....

.....

.....

High School attended.....How long?.....

Other school attended.....How long?.....

.....

.....

VOCATIONAL INVESTIGATION SCHOOL CARD

Name Address Group
 Last school attended: Date entered: Grade entered: Work certificate issued: Age
 Date of discharge Grade at discharge Age at discharge Subject liked best
 Subject liked least Physical condition:

Reasons for leaving

	P.	C.	P.	C.
Necessity: Earnings necessary for family support. Earnings needed temporarily. Self-support necessary.				
Child's help desired though not necessary. In family support. To buy property. In home work. To earn money for education of self or relative.				
Child's dissatisfaction with school. Tired of school. Disliked school. Disliked teacher.				
Child's dissatisfaction with school. Disliked to study. Could not learn. Too big for class. Child's preference for work. Work preferred to school. Spending money wanted. Association desired with friends who worked. Other causes:				
Parents' statement: Able to keep child in school F. M. Vocation desired by child: Vocation. Reason for choice. Immediate job: Name of firm. Address. Wages promised. How found. Teacher's comments on school. Child's comments on school. Date: Investigator:				
Parents' statement: Willing to keep child in school F. M. Obstacles. Preparation planned. Present training courses. Trade. Kind of work. Reason for choice. Chances for advancement. Source of information:				

INFORMATION GIVEN BY PARENT CONCERNING BOY OR GIRL AT WORK

Family name of boy or girl..... Given name..... Number..... Street..... Floor..... Person interviewed..... Investigation number.....
 Last school attended..... Number..... Grade..... Left-mo..... yr..... Has he good health?..... How often ill?..... Nature of illnesses.....
 What, if any, physical disability?..... To what due?..... How did he get along in school?..... Did he wish to leave?.....
 Did the parent wish him to leave?..... Was it necessary for him to leave?..... Why?.....
 What work did he do while yet at school to earn money?..... What are his special interests, aptitudes, and talents?.....
 To what clubs does he belong?..... What other affiliations has he?.....
 How does he spend his evenings and leisure time?..... What study or training has he undertaken since leaving school?.....
 For what sort of work or occupation does the parent believe him best fitted?..... Why?.....
 When did he first go to work?..... How many different jobs has he had?.....
 At what sorts of work? 1..... 2..... 3..... 4..... 5..... Why has he changed jobs so frequently?.....
 How many months did he remain at each job? 1..... 2..... 3..... 4..... 5..... What are the parent's vocational aims for the boy?.....
 What should the school or city do for him now?..... What should the school have done?.....
 Can further education be afforded?..... What can the parent do?..... What can the child do?.....
 Comment:.....

 Date..... Investigator.....

INFORMATION GIVEN BY BOY OR GIRL AT WORK CONCERNING JOB OR POSITION

Family name of boy or girl..... Given name..... Number..... Street..... Floor.....
 Born - mo.....day.....yr..... Left school - mo.....yr..... Investigation no.....
 Name of employer, firm or corporation..... Place of employment..... Location of business or industry..... No. employees.....
 Nature of business or industry..... Department, office or branch..... Occupation..... Specify work done..... Employed Fr. To.....

Season	From	To	Begin	Stop	Lunch	Net hours	Overtime	Employer	Place of employment	Nature of employment	Wages	Time employed	Cause of leaving
Regular.....												Fr.....To.....	
Black.....												Fr.....To.....	
Ordinary.....												Fr.....To.....	
Vacations.....												Fr.....To.....	
												Fr.....To.....	

Piece work..... Day..... Hour..... Week..... Month..... Rate..... Output..... Average weekly wages..... Health..... Fatigue..... Days lost by illness..... Accident..... Laid off.....

Why did you leave school?..... For how many jobs did you apply?..... How long did it take to secure a job?.....
 How did you learn about it?..... How did you secure it?..... Did you fill out an application blank?.....
 What questions were you asked?..... What tests were made?..... What training was required?.....
 Who hired you?..... What was his position?..... Who gave you orders or instructions?.....
 What help was given you to improve your work and by whom?..... What do you think of your job and why?.....
 Have you been advanced in salary?..... How much?..... What are the chances of advancement?.....
 Upon what does advancement depend?..... What training or education would help?.....
 What have you done to get such training?..... What sort of work do you desire to follow as an occupation and why?.....
 What work did you do while still in school to earn money?..... Were you frequently left entirely alone during the day?.....
 Was your time then fully occupied?..... Why did you leave?..... Total number of different jobs held since leaving school?.....
 Comment:.....
 Date..... Entries made by.....

INFORMATION CONCERNING HOME SURROUNDINGS OF BOY OR GIRL AT WORK

Father — Family name Given name Birthplace Yrs. U.S. Lang. at home Race or color
 Dead Conjugal condition Of B U Guardian
 Mother — Family name Given name Birthplace Yrs. U.S. Lang. at home Race or color
 Dead Conjugal condition OM SM S A Guardian

WAGE EARNERS IN FAMILY OVER EIGHTEEN YEARS OF AGE

Name	Relation	Language spoken	Attends Ev. school	Occupation	Monthly earnings	Amount yearly employment	Not working since	Cause of unemployment
.....
.....
.....
.....

SUMMARY OF FAMILY'S ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Distribution by sex	Individual ages	Attend school	Em-ployed	Not working	Ill	Dis-abled	Contrib-uting income	In-come	No. of rooms	Rent	Neighborhood
Brothers
Other boys
Sisters
Other girls
Men	Boys and girls invited to group meetings
Women	Boys | Girls

Comment:

Date

Investigator

INFORMATION GIVEN BY EMPLOYER CONCERNING BOY OR GIRL AT WORK

Family name of boy or girl..... Given name..... Number..... Street..... Floor.....
 Born — mo. day yr. Left school — mo. yr. Investigation no. Fr. To.....
 Name of employer, firm or corporation..... Place of employment..... Location of business or industry..... Employed.....
 Nature of business or industry..... No. of departments..... No. of employees..... Total number of different employees in year.....
 Maximum..... Months..... Minimum..... Months..... Average tenure.....

Season	From	To	Begin	Stop	Lunch	Net hours	Overtime	Department, office or branch	Position	Duties	Wages	Length of employment	Cause of leaving
Rush.....												Fr. To.....	
Slack.....												Fr. To.....	
Ordinary.....												Fr. To.....	
Vacations.....												Fr. To.....	
Holidays.....												Fr. To.....	
Nights emp.....												Fr. To.....	
Union.....												Fr. To.....	
Fines.....												Fr. To.....	
Health.....												Fr. To.....	
Fatigue.....												Fr. To.....	
Piece work.....												Fr. To.....	
Day.....												Fr. To.....	
Hour.....												Fr. To.....	
Week.....												Fr. To.....	
Month.....												Fr. To.....	
Rate.....												Fr. To.....	
Output.....												Fr. To.....	
Days lost.....												Fr. To.....	
Illness.....												Fr. To.....	
Accident.....												Fr. To.....	
Laid off.....												Fr. To.....	

Who hires employees?..... Who promotes them?..... Who discharges them?.....
 To what extent are employees transferred between departments?..... How is help secured?.....
 Is an application blank used?..... What questions are asked?..... What tests are made?..... What investigations are made?.....
 What training is required?..... What age between 14 and 16 is preferred?..... Between 14 and 18?.....
 Who are preferred? Those who have already been employed?..... Those who have not already been employed?.....
 What records of employees are kept?..... How are these records used?..... What faults are most conspicuous in applicants?.....
 What faults are most conspicuous in employees?..... What more should the schools do to fit employees 14-16 — (18-18)?.....
 Would further education or training bring about or help advancement?..... What, if any, such training are you giving?.....
 If not giving such training would you cooperate with the schools to provide it?..... Position.....
 Salary: What are the average chances for advancement on the whole?..... Comment:.....

SCHOOL HISTORY OF BOY OR GIRL AT WORK

[illegible]

POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

USED IN A SERIES OF CONFERENCES WITH NEW YORK
SCHOOL OFFICIALS*A new agency :—*

- What new agencies, if any, should be introduced into the public schools to lessen the number of children under sixteen who quit school for work?
- What more can the principal and teacher do?
- How best reach the parents?
- Should the leaving periods be better regulated, and how distributed throughout the year?
- What kind of educational and vocational information should be given in the elementary school?
- High school?
- Who should give it?
- How follow up the results of such advice?
- Should occupational booklets be used? What kind?
- How prepared and by whom?
- Lectures?

Counselors and advisers :—

- Should there be a staff of special counselors?
- What training should they have?
- How qualify for the work?
- What should be their powers and duties?
- What their relation to the school teacher?
- What preliminary studies and investigations are needed before introducing such system?
- How extensive and intensive should such studies be?

Pre-vocational schools :—

- How far can the pre-vocational school as now organized serve the purpose of holding children longer in school?
- How assign children to these or vocational schools?
- Who should attend to the assignment?
- What follow-up should there be?

What variety of vocational experiences and opportunities should be introduced?

How flexible the system of transferring from course to course?

Tests and medical inspection : —

What physical and mental tests should be used as part of the vocational service under discussion?

What medical supervision?

How can it be made more significant in choosing a vocational course or a career?

How can differentiated courses be used as a test for aptitude?

How shall such tests be supervised?

Employment : —

What help shall be available for children who seek work? Shall they be permitted to hunt jobs unaided?

Should the school or other agency give advice and warnings as to particular employers and employments?

Shall the schools attempt to find positions or should this be left to the Municipal Employment Bureau?

Should the schools have a follow-up system for all children under sixteen now at work, no matter how they found their jobs?

What is the objection to the school attempting to find work for those under sixteen?

What is the objection to children finding their jobs for themselves?

Should the schools attempt to control the juvenile labor supply?

How best do this? Or should the schools instead work with existing employment agencies?

Until the compulsory school age is raised, what should schools do for those seeking work from sixteen to eighteen — for those already in employment?

Should children under eighteen be obliged to report to some school agency at stated periods for physical and other examination?

What contact should the school establish with employers?
Is further legislation needed for effective supervision by
the schools of the work and progress of employed children
under eighteen?

Should the Department of Education or a new bureau organize
this service; or would it be best to effect a combination of
existing departments and agencies?

HIGH SCHOOL, SOMERVILLE, MASS.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR HIGH SCHOOL PUPILS,

<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Yrs.</i>	<i>Mos.</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Room</i>
-------------	------------	-------------	-------------	--------------	-------------

1. Do you expect to complete a course of four years in the High School?
2. If not, how many years do you expect to stay?
3. If you do not expect to remain four years, what is the reason: —
 - (a) Financial conditions?
 - (b) Lack of success in school work?
 - (c) Desire to go to work?
 - (d) Loss of interest?
4. Please underline the course which you are now taking: —
 - (a) General.
 - (b) College Preparatory.
 - (c) Manual Arts.
 - (d) Commercial.
 - (e) 2-year Commercial.
5. What led you to choose this course: —
 - (a) Advice of parents, teachers, friends?
 - (b) Success of others?
 - (c) Belief in your personal qualifications and ability for the work of this course?
6. Do you know what studies are included in this course: —
 - (a) In the first year?
 - (b) In the second year?
 - (c) In the third year?
 - (d) In the fourth year?

7. What qualifications do you think you have for the work of this course?
8. What line of work do you intend to follow after you leave High School?
9. What do you understand to be the requirements of this work?
10. How have you ascertained these requirements?
11. Is this the work which you really desire to do?
12. What have your parents advised?
13. To what extent, if any, have possible financial benefits influenced your choice?
14. If this is *not* the work which you really desire to do, why are you not preparing to follow your personal choice?
15. What service to the community are you planning to render through your vocation?

EXTRA:

A. For College Preparatory Pupils: —

1. For what college are you preparing?
2. Why have you chosen this college?
3. What are its requirements?

B. For Scientific, Normal School, Normal Art School, etc., Preparatory Pupils: —

1. For what school are you preparing?
2. Why have you chosen this school?
3. What are its requirements?

NOTE: — Please answer questions in full where space is given: otherwise, as briefly as possible. The purpose of this inquiry is to help in the conduct of the school rather than to be inquisitive concerning the personal affairs of the pupils. Please answer frankly. Replies will be considered confidential.

II

RECORDS OF A BOSTON SCHOOL VOCATIONAL COUNSELOR

ONE day a boy in our school brought an application for a City Hall license to his teacher for her signature. She hesitated about signing it, as the child was small for his age (fourteen), puny, and very nervous. He had been in the Massachusetts General Hospital twice that year; the first time with appendicitis, the second time with adhesions. In spite of the excellent nursing he had received there, — all free, by the way, — he was still weak and unsteady and quite unable to do his school work properly.

On questioning the boy, the teacher found that he was getting up at 3.30 every morning, going over to the newspaper offices and lugging back heavy bundles of papers to his older brothers who kept a prosperous news-stand "on the Hill." From that time until school-time he was helping sell the papers, often getting no breakfast. He was really doing five hours' work before nine o'clock. The child insisted that he got sleep enough, as he went to bed at 6.30 every night. As his home was in a crowded tenement house and the weather was warm enough to necessitate open windows, the sleep he could possibly get was quite inadequate, especially under the circumstances.

The teacher withheld her signature and sent for the father. He corroborated the boy's statement, but protested, "My Myer has to work. I am a weak man." "How old are you?" asked the teacher. "I am forty-two," he replied. "And don't you work at all, yourself?" she exclaimed in surprise. "Oh, no!" he answered; "I have my children to work for me." The teacher labored in vain to make him see or even admit that harm might come to the boy, by early rising, no breakfast or insufficient sleep. "He's not sick," he declared; "he goes to bed at six o'clock."

But she was still unconvinced. She sent for the Supervisor

of Licensed Minors and stated the case to him. He at once took the matter in hand, verified the facts, and soon convinced the "weak" parent that he must take better care of the boy, or the court would take a hand and he would have to "pay money" besides losing all income from the boy. The officer forbade the boy to work before 6 A.M., made the father promise to obey the rules, and the teacher signed the slip. The boy got proper food and sleep, his nervousness lessened, and his school work improved.

Incidents like this led us to ask ourselves how far the foreign children were really looked upon as economic assets by their parents. Were they used as sources of income at the earliest possible age, or were they kept in school as long as possible only being taken out for work when forced by necessity?

We decided to find out by following up, during a definite period, as far as possible those children who had been taken out of school to go to work. We took for our data the school year 1911-12.

Our school is specially adapted for such inquiry, as thirty-eight per cent of its seventeen hundred children are of Italian parentage, while sixty-two per cent is practically Jewish. The other nationalities are, therefore, negligible.

We first made a tabulated list from the available school data of those children. We found there were eighty-one of them, all between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years. They formed only 4.7 per cent of the total enrollment of the school, being 7.8 per cent of the total number of Jewish pupils and 12.4 per cent of the entire number of Italians, indicating that more Italians in proportion leave than Jews, which we later found to be true.

Of these eighty-one child workers, thirty-seven were of Jewish birth or parentage, while forty were Italian; only four belonging to other nationalities.

Of the Jewish children only four were born in this country, while twenty-six were born in Russia. Ten Italians were American born, thirty were born in Italy or Sicily. Cards could not be found for twelve children, so their birthplaces could not be traced.

Thirty-seven of these children entered school in the "Ungraded" or non-English-speaking classes. Only twenty began in the first grade and had the four full years of grade work before leaving; for the ungraded pupils must spend from three months to two years in learning the language before they can be transferred to the grades. Most of them then enter the third or fourth grades, a few exceptionally bright ones being sent to the fifth. They are always handicapped by lack of knowledge of English, so that if they have to leave at fourteen years for work, they are very poorly equipped for life.

The old law required that the child must reach the fourth grade before leaving, and the majority left either in the fifth or sixth grade, very few of the eighty-one reaching the higher classes.

A moment's thought will convince any one how little "schooling" they had. No history, no grammar, no government, only elementary English, and only a glimpse at the countries of the world. What meager "content of mind" with which to meet life!

Next, we made out an exhaustive list of questions to be sent to the working children. This list we made as detailed as possible.

The questions covered school, home, family, individual, and employment data, and were intended to show such facts as these: the age and grade on entering and leaving school; the number of years in school; the reasons given by the child for leaving; the ability of the parent to keep the child in school; the birthplace of the child; the number of years of the parent in America; whether both parents were living; the number of children in the family; the number already working; the total number of persons in the home; number of rooms in the tenement, the weekly rent and income of the family; the use of present wages of the child, etc.

For the work data of the child himself we secured the name of the firm, the trade, the kind of work, the hours, wages, conditions, etc. The new labor law has so limited the hours and thus modified wages, however, that these are not quite the same as last year. The hours are shortened for the

younger ones and the older ones work overtime and are paid in proportion. All wages of minors are in process of adjustment to the new scale. On the old schedule the child's wages averaged \$5.50 per week.

The list of questions we revised and simplified again and again, even giving it to pupils of one of the school classes to be filled in at home, to be sure the questions were clear. It was interesting to find how very simply the questions must be worded. "Family income" meant nothing. "How much money does your father get a week?" brought part of the answer, and by asking for the weekly wage of each worker in the family and adding the items, we found the total "family wage."

Then we sent the lists to the children who had gone to work; either by brothers and sisters still in school, or by carefully instructed pupils of the higher grades. We were often surprised at the intelligence and persistence shown by the youthful investigators. "I sat right down beside her and asked her the questions, and filled it out myself" reported one girl. "Only her mother was in and she was afraid to answer" was the report from an Italian family. That hinted of the old country, fear of taxes or persecution. "But I'll go again to-night when she's in herself," said the child. And a second visit brought the desired replies. Again, "You know that boy you asked me to look up? Well, he's a crook and he's just been sent over," was one report given in a disgusted tone. A hopeless, sad case; for the mother told us only last week with tears in her eyes that "my other boy, he gets in bad company and is away again. His father has n't any work, and my girl she got a feller and only earns \$5, and when a girl wants to get married, I can't take her money."

The child workers themselves took a lively interest in filling out the lists fully and correctly, and often sent us in additional bits of information. As, "I caught my hand in a candy machine and was laid off for two weeks. But S——'s paid me my wages," S——'s being a favorite place of employment on account of the good wages, fair treatment, benefit clubs, and medical attendance the girls receive. Or, "You tell Miss A. my mother is in Russia, and I am working to

have her come over." Again, "I'll come up myself some noon and see her." And very often, "I do wish I could have stayed in school to graduate"; the simple exercises and blue-ribboned diploma given at the completion of the eighth year being a much appreciated goal.

Of our eighty-one children some had moved away; others, chiefly Italian girls, had stayed at home to help in the housework. One proudly reported, "I don't have to answer any questions, I'm engaged." Quite a sufficient reason, our principal thought. A number of the boys were working with their fathers on teams, in tailoring places, or in barber shops. Some returned incomplete lists. But we were able to get twenty-five exhaustive lists answering all of the questions sent out. As these represented both Jewish and Italian boys and girls, we felt that we had sufficient data on which to base our conclusions.

Then we proceeded to arrange our tables and work out our averages, which brought out some very interesting facts and comparisons.

Table I. Ages and grades

From this table we found that nineteen of the children were foreign-born, only six having been born here. The Jewish children averaged eleven years on entering school, which, as they left at fifteen years, gave them four years of school. The greater number of Italians entered at nine years, but left a little earlier, giving them about six years in school. But while the majority of both entered the ungraded classes, the Jewish children got ahead faster, more of them staying in school until the higher grades.

Table II. Family card

From this we found that the majority of the parents were living — only three fathers and two mothers being dead. More of the Jewish parents could speak English than the Italian; almost none of the Italian mothers speaking anything but their mother-tongue, even after living here several

years. They depend on the children to deal with the American world for them.

Only three fathers were not at work. Two mothers were at work, these being in families where the fathers had died.

Table III. Incomes

To decide on the necessity for putting the child to work, it was necessary to find out how many persons were being supported on each "family wage," and how many persons in each family were already contributing to that sum.

We found that the average number of children in a family was six, which, with the two parents, made eight persons to be sheltered, warmed, fed, clothed, and amused from the family purse. There was an average of two other children already at work, making three persons already contributing to this sum.

A study of living conditions showed that the number of rooms in each tenement averaged 4.8 for the Jewish families, and 3.8 for the Italians. As the number of persons was eight to a family, this made two persons to a room, including the kitchen. The average weekly rent paid by the Jewish families was \$4, while the Italians paid slightly less than \$3.50 for fewer rooms.

There was a marked difference in the location and conditions of the tenements occupied by the two races. The Italians crowded into as small space as possible and made no attempt to live in American fashion. The typical Italian tenement consisted of a combined kitchen, dining-room, and parlor at the front, with the sink between the two windows, — for the economy of the landlord and the convenience of the plumber, and one, two, or three semi-lighted or dark bedrooms opening out of this one room, — all for a family of eight.

The Jewish families, however, tried to have a parlor for company and holidays — even if it must serve as a bedroom at night. One poor but courteous soul apologized for her empty front room by explaining that her daughter had just

been married, and as they had no money for her dowry they had given her the parlor furniture.

Further study of Table III showed that the average weekly family wage of the Jewish family was \$22.46, making the individual averages (eight to a family) \$2.83. The Italian wage was but \$16.33 and the individual income only \$1.97, less than the \$2 considered possible to live on by social workers. The total average was \$19.29 and the average per person only \$2.40. This must cover the five economic "must haves" — rent, food, heat, light, and clothing, not to include amusements.

Table IV. Reasons for leaving

Referring to Table IV we find that ten of the Jewish children said that they were obliged to leave, while only four claimed they were not. Even these felt that they needed more than their parents could give them. Only three wished to leave. Of the Italian children nine were obliged to help the family; only three were not. One girl was "too old to stay in school."

Thus the most of them left school not voluntarily, but because they felt the pressure of necessity. The majority of the parents were willing to have kept the children in school, but felt that they needed their help.

Who is to determine the necessity, — the child, the parent, the school, the business world? Under the new law several thousand must receive further instruction or return to day school. The firms will no longer employ fourteen-year-olds. Can the parents keep the child in school?

Before answering, let us study local conditions. The school is in the very heart of the most congested district in New England. Rents for the better class average quite as high if not higher than elsewhere in the city or suburbs. Children often tell us, "We are moving to Roxbury to get more rooms and not pay so much rent." Where in the West End they pay \$20 to \$25 for five small, ill-lighted, stuffy rooms, in other sections they can get a flat of six bright, sunny rooms for the same money. Quite a consideration in a rapidly growing family from a moral as well as a physical point of view.

Living is expensive, too. The average weekly cost of food for a family is \$9.75; coal sells at from \$8 to \$9 a ton, — the latter price if bought by the bags at 45 cents and two bags a week used. Staples are no cheaper here than anywhere else. Flour is 80 cents a bag; butter, 40 cents a pound; milk, 9 cents a quart; potatoes, 25 cents a peck; and the much discussed eggs sell at from 35 to 60 cents a dozen. These prices are the current ones given by a class still in school and are sent in by the mothers. Light averages \$3.15 a month. Clothing varies — one week considerable is bought, others very little. One mother gave 25 cents a month as being her average. This clothing item has some interesting phases. When the children are small, the Jewish or Italian mother buys their little dresses, coats, shoes, and even hats (for Sunday — they are never worn on week-days) in the basement or one-room stores of the neighborhood. She gesticulates and haggles to her heart's content and often secures great bargains. Even the children are great shoppers and reply to the sewing teacher's query, "Why were you gone so long?" with "He wanted 4 cents a yard for that lace and I went over to N.'s, where I knew I could get it for 3 cents." Many mothers never shop farther uptown than Bowdoin Square and a shopping trip to "H——'s" is an event. "I must go uptown with my mother this afternoon" is an indisputable excuse for absence.

But as the children get old enough to go shopping alone, the attractions of the big stores soon lead them from the West End. We begin to see signs of budding vanity, — a bead chain from the "fi-ten," a plaid hair-ribbon bought in J.'s basement store, a tight skirt worn in spite of discomfort "because it becomes me," or perhaps on Monday even a white collar and gay tie worn over from Sunday. One small girl, so poor that she has but one black sateen dress, proudly displays a wrist-purse of brown leather, and another also poverty poor rejoices in a gay pink hair-ribbon which quite conceals her wispy hair.

This love for pretty things crops out early in our little aliens and should be legitimately gratified. We of more sober ancestry cannot half appreciate this longing for glitter-

ing gold and bright raiment. But it must be provided for or it will lead into temptation before many years.

The younger children in the family must be considered. Often the child leaves because "there's five younger than me and my father says he can't support me any longer." How fast the little tots outgrow dresses and how often they have to have new shoes! "My father has to buy one of us new shoes every week" is a frequent wail. And such cheap shoes as they are — no wonder they wear out so quickly. The children dearly love the little black-eyed, curly-haired tots, and are anxious to work "to help buy my baby clothes."

Many and many a boy or girl not yet out of the 'teens is regularly helping to support the younger ones, either by giving their wages to the mother for the family fund or by using them in a definite way. In one case two of our old boys are sending themselves through Art School and at the same time clothing three little sisters, and doing it well, too, — by tending a news-stand in a hotel.

Then the pleasures of life! The music lessons, clubs, dances, theaters, all so fascinating to our children of Southern blood! And the "movies," nothing has ever so bewitched them! One sweet-faced, blue-eyed lad actually "fit the cop," to quote his own words, who refused him admittance after 6 P.M. Our school district and adjacent streets are dotted with them in all the allurements of their lights and music. And for better or for worse they are here to stay. And it is our business as lovers of children to see that they are "for better." Many of the films are unobjectionable and a large number are educational. The children are keener critics than we. The boys scoff at too sentimental love-scenes, — "they're too silly"; and the girls "don't like the shooting." But many a geography or history lesson is verified by an enthusiastic description of a "snake dance" or an "Indian fight" or a "canal view" seen that week at a favorite "Star" or "Beacon."

We may wish the conditions surrounding these places of amusement were different, but the child sees only the joy and action, and goes every time he gets hold of a stray nickel.

And how to gratify the higher ambitions! All praise and gratitude for the opportunities offered by our settlements for music and dancing lessons, for clubs and sewing classes and gymnasiums. But the teaching given there can be but elementary. And that boy whose skillful touch is drawing such exquisite strains from his beloved violin as we enter the school hall must earn the money for his own lessons.

What can be done for the hand-minded? Our elementary schools as yet furnish no answer to this girl's plea, "But, Miss A., I don't want to go into a candy factory, I love to make hats." So she leaves to learn her trade in a basement millinery shop, from whence she soon turns out stylish and even artistic hats.

Can the family wage supply all these needs? The family incomes average about \$20. Of this \$3.50 goes for rent, \$10 for food, \$1 for heat, 75 cents for light, leaving about \$5 for clothing, insurance, house replenishing, and pleasures for eight people.

If the father's wage cannot cover all these things, the child must leave school and contribute his \$4 or \$5 weekly, which will help to secure them for himself. For this cannot all be done on \$2 a week, — \$2.75 or \$3 a week is all too meager as shown by the actual figures, taken, not from dry reports or hearsay, but from the weekly data given by the mothers themselves, and set down fresh from their facts.

What is the remedy? Many suggestions are offered: coöperative stores, special discounts, mothers' pensions, continuation schools, etc.; but the one vital thing which will enable the children to remain in school is to give the father a living individual wage sufficient to support and educate the children he has given to the nation, that they may become "Little Citizens" in fact as well as name.

III

SPECIMENS OF VOCATIONAL TALKS GIVEN BY EXPERTS AT MEETINGS OF THE VOCATIONAL COUNSELORS OF BOSTON

THE EDUCATIONAL SIDE OF THE SHOE INDUSTRY

THE educational side of the shoe industry might be classified under four heads: —

1. The first would be the preparation of the expert in the shoe industry, — that is, the man who knows shoes thoroughly, as well as the anatomy of the human foot.

2. The second class would include the training of the superintendent and foreman to take charge of our large shoe factories.

3. The third group would include the salesman and the expert on the selling end of the enterprise.

4. And the fourth type of school would be the kind that gives a general education to the boy or girl who goes to work in the shoe factory as an ordinary operator.

Now I will pass over briefly those four classes.

Of the first type of school there are at least one or two in this country and a great many across the water. If you should go to London, Berlin, Amsterdam, Cologne, and all the great German cities, you would find large buildings devoted to the study of leather products. Those schools prepare the expert in the same way as the Institute of Technology prepares the chemist to go out and do the analytical work of our large industries.

Of the second type, which prepares the foreman and superintendents, there are a number of private schools situated in Brockton, Lynn, and some other large shoe centers that make a specialty of training operators in the different lines of work done in the shoe factories.

Now, I want to go over briefly to-day the ways in which

the ordinary shoe-worker becomes a superintendent and foreman when he does not get this preparation in the school.

In the large country districts of Massachusetts and New Hampshire and Maine we will find isolated shoe factories manufacturing third-rate shoes. These factories draw upon the country help for their labor. They take the girls, for instance, and break them in on the stitching-machines. They take the boys and men and break them in on the different lines of machinery that they use in the factories. When a man has been in the factory some six months he migrates to some other shoe center, usually Lynn or Brockton. Usually no one can join the union who has not had six months' experience of this kind. As the result of his experience in the third-rate factories he goes into the labor unions and he is taken into the different departments devoted to the trade. He then goes out looking for a position, with his union card, and he gets into some high-class shoe factory and tells the foreman that he is an experienced laster on first-class shoes. He goes to work and he spoils a great many shoes. Then the foreman comes up to him and tells him that he will not do and dismisses him. As a result of that experience he goes to still another shoe factory in the same town, or in an adjoining town, and applies for a position again. He may work a few days in the new factory when he gets dismissed once more. This may go on for two or three weeks. Finally he gets into an establishment where he meets some kind friend who is able and willing to help him along, and in this way he secures the training necessary to be a first-class laster. That is what is called "stealing a trade," and it is what a first-class worker always has to go through.

Now, the question arises, What can the schools do to help the superintendent and foreman? I feel that in every large shoe center there should be evening courses for men working in the shops, to supplement their day experience, to give them the knowledge that they obtain so laboriously in the industry itself.

For example, a man is working in the lasting department. He wants to know something about the organization of the shoe department, or the cutting department, or the finishing

department. You know we begin to work at the stroke of the gong in a large industry like this, and it is impossible for a man who works in one department to go into the one that follows and try to get some idea of the general organization of the whole plant. No, he must go to his machine and stay there till the bell rings to go home. In this way he loses the knowledge that was given to the boy who was taught under the old apprenticeship system.

That is the universal experience, and, as I said, an evening school in some one of our educational centers devoted, for example, to a course of lectures on the boot and shoe industry, would give this man practical experience to supplement what he already knows, and thus he would have a knowledge outside his own immediate department.

Now, the class that I want to lay particular stress upon is the average worker. The average boy is the boy who does n't care much about school. Nevertheless, that boy when he comes to man's estate must get an existence, and he is very probably the boy who will later work in the shoe factory. The question arises, What can you do for this boy? I feel that every boy who lives in a shoe center ought to know something about the shoe industry. It ought to be a part of his mental training course. He should know how to cobble shoes. I have in mind at the present time a teacher in one of the grammar schools in Lowell who devotes four hours a week to cobbling. Every boy in the school brings his shoes, and that teacher does all the cobbling in that neighborhood. You go into a shoe factory to-day and you will see a man taking a large strip of leather and putting it in at one end of a machine and taking it out at the other. If John had received in the grammar school a course in manual training, in cobbling, in shoemaking, he would know just what the different steps are in the process of shoemaking. If John knows that it is necessary to condense the fiber of leather by beating it on the lapstone, then when he goes into the shoe factory that machine will mean something to him. Why? Because he will make a comparison between his previous experience and what he is learning now. That is the only way the shoe industry can be made educational to-day.

It is the same way with cutting and stitching. If a girl goes into a shoe factory to-day and works on a stitching-machine, all she does is to feed the machine. She knows nothing about the different kinds of leather, the different processes in the manufacture of the shoe.

A boy should be taught something of the anatomy of the foot. He ought to know that our feet are a mass of a great many small bones, and he ought to know that if those bones are crowded the foot will be deformed. A course of two hours a week, from the seventh to the ninth grade in the grammar school, in cobbling and shoemaking, would facilitate matters greatly. Have the children tell something about the different hides, the best part of the hide, something about the belly of the hide, what kind of leather will make the best soles, the best heels, etc. A course like that would develop in the boy an industrial intelligence, and when he goes to work on the machine he will not become a part of the machine; he will know what he is doing, he will know the object of every pull, of every twist, of every movement of that machine. As it stands to-day, the shoe industry is not educational. The boy at the machine to-day does no thinking, develops no initiative, has stimulated in him no ambition. At the age of eighteen or twenty he knows even less about the shoe industry than when he left school. He is absolutely ignorant and cannot use his head.

LUNCH-ROOM AND RESTAURANT WORK FOR YOUNG WOMEN

Next to teaching, the most valuable piece of work that can be done in the community to-day is to offer wholesome, hearty, well-prepared, palatable food to the average man and woman, at such a price as he or she can afford to pay. I believe, in spite of the fact that it is precisely this thing I am personally trying to do, that I can get a point of view which enables me to see things in a way that justifies me in drawing this conclusion, and in believing that it is really unbiased.

Now, assuming that this is so, I think you can see at once

why this opportunity to come before the men and women of the Boston public schools who are peculiarly interested in vocational guidance seems to us a rather big one. I can see, as the future results accruing from this little conference to-day, an increased force of trained workers who, in time, will make it possible for us to realize the ideal which we are some of us already beginning to see. I believe that it is the entrance of women into this line of work in the last fifteen or twenty years which has made possible this feeling on the part of a good many of us who are in the work.

Now this afternoon I want to make three points: —

1. In the first place, I want to speak of the permanency of the field. I am going to try to prove to you that it is permanently established, and that it offers employment to an increasingly large number of persons, under conditions which can be made healthful and pleasant, at a wage which compares favorably with the returns from many of the other trades.

2. Secondly, we find that more and more there is coming to be expected, in those who take up this work, some degree of technical knowledge and training, so that not only the food, but the manner of its serving, may be of the highest quality.

3. In the third place, a certain amount of business education to aid in the sale of the product is desirable.

In speaking of these three points it seems to me that it is logical to assume that the workers in this field must be more and more drawn from the intelligent, trained group in the community, and, as a corollary to that, that this field of restaurant and lunch-room work does recommend itself to the intelligence of the men and women who are interested in the training of young people.

Now, in considering the question of the field itself, — that is, as to whether it is promising, as to whether it is fulfilling a real need in the community, not only for to-day but for to-morrow, — I think we need to stop for a moment and review the history of the lunch-room as it exists to-day.

I think we might very logically ask, in the first place, Why have we these big lunch-rooms? Why is it necessary

for us to establish these big eating-places all over the city? Well, the history of the development of the commercial lunch-rooms is the history of the development of modern industry. In the old days when every man did his work in his own little shop, or in his neighbor's shop, every man was near enough to his kitchen to be able to go to it, the meal being prepared by the women in the home. But when the man had to leave the shop and come to the big factory to do his work it is perfectly obvious that some other method had to be provided. Of course the lunch-room and the café were the solution. But, as larger and larger numbers of people came longer and longer distances from their homes, you can see at once that in this simple and natural way the need for the large and small lunch-rooms was met. There is no question but what the permanence of the field is well established, for the reason that there is no question but what our modern methods of business are going to hold for a long time yet. It is going to be a long time before we go back to any measurable degree to the old situation. And so that means the continued necessity for feeding the great laboring groups of the community.

To-day in Boston there are twelve hundred licensed lunch-rooms, besides all the many common eating-houses, private clubs, and other institutions which are not required to be licensed. In the 1905 census in Massachusetts eight thousand women are given as the number earning their livelihood as waitresses. There are no figures as to how many other women, or how many men, are engaged in processes of lunch-room work.

I have taken a group of six of the best lunch-rooms in Boston from which to get figures. In all six of these lunch-rooms, four of which are managed by women, there are about thirty thousand people fed every day, twenty thousand of whom are fed at noon. These lunch-rooms employ about eighteen hundred persons, fourteen hundred of whom are women. I said that four of these lunch-rooms are managed by women. Of those four two are college-trained persons. In all six lunch-rooms many women are employed in managerial positions. These managerial positions, of course, have

an interest for any one who is considering possibilities for advancement. Salaries range from \$900 to \$1800 a year for women. I do not know about the men. For the cooks and kitchen workers — those who handle all the different processes of preparing and serving the food — the average hours are fifty-four a week — about nine hours a day. For the waitresses it is about fifty hours per week. For cooks the average wage is from \$10 to \$16 a week, with two meals a day, and the average working week is about six days. Some of this is evening work, up to eight o'clock, when supper is served. In the kitchen group of assistance the average wage is \$6 to \$9 a week, beginning usually at \$6 in the less skilled part of the work, and advancing to about \$9 a week, with two meals. Beginning at \$6, most of the lunch-rooms have a scale of wages depending somewhat on tenure of office.

As to conditions of work in the lunch-rooms, I think, in all justice to the subject, we ought to say that in these six lunch-rooms of which I am speaking, together with perhaps a lot more in the city of which I have not as intimate a knowledge, the conditions are good. I think the scale of wages, the length of the working hours, and the character of the place in which the work is performed are all probably the best that you would find. Those of us women who are in the trade realize more and more fully that, with the exception of the lunch-rooms of which I have spoken, and possibly a few others, unsatisfactory conditions prevail.

I want to contend this afternoon that those conditions can and must be changed, and that they will be just in so far as the more intelligent type of worker is introduced into the field. Long hours, insufficient wages, lack of kitchen space, all improper conditions are absolutely unnecessary from the business point of view. It will come, then, in time, to be realized that to have uncomfortable, unhealthy conditions is the most extravagant course to pursue; as also to have unskilled workers. Those conditions are already changing. Competition itself is eradicating them. As more and more people go into the field, it becomes more and more necessary that those of us in the field should produce an article better

than the other man's. Then the greater education, the greater knowledge on the part of the average patron as to the science of food itself, is making a very real demand upon us and is helping very much to push things along in that direction.

Now, there is one disadvantage in lunch-room work at the present time, a disadvantage from the point of view of some people, which is n't necessarily a disadvantage at all. That is the situation which we find in the "short day." "Short-time" work is the name we give to the trade of the worker who comes in to work only four hours at noon, when, of course, the greater bulk of the work has to be done. It was pointed out to me the other day that really we are filling a need in the community by providing the opportunity for "short-time" work for women. Many women whose families are working away from home have that period at noontime free.

There is one thing, however, which it seems to me really ought to be eliminated, and that is what we call the "broken day." In many places meals are served from seven to seven, with a rest in between in the afternoon. From my point of view this should be done away as far as possible. I bring that point in here because the solution of that problem has to do with the question of training before the worker comes to the lunch-room at all. At present, in our lunch-room, we could take two of our waitresses and give them a full working day if they were able to sew and darn; for we have the care of a considerable amount of linen. In our group of twenty waitresses we have not one who is qualified for this work. The highest paid position is that of the cook, and I have found it one of the most difficult things to get waitresses who can do things in the kitchen which need to be done. I think this is because of a certain attitude of mind which prompts many young women to undervalue the importance and the dignity of such work, and I believe very, very firmly, that, under present conditions at least, the solution of that problem must come through the teaching which the girls receive in the schools. They must have a change of heart toward the work which is behind the scenes. In most instances unsatisfactory service can be laid very largely to the fact that

we find ourselves unable to get the kind of trained intelligence absolutely essential in the handling of the food which is put before the customer.

THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENT IN LUNCH-ROOM AND RESTAURANT WORK

I want to speak to you to-day particularly of the opportunity which exists for the high-school student in lunch-room work. A year ago I should have said that she had no opportunity therein. I should not have considered for a moment being troubled with a girl who was as young and inexperienced as the average high-school girl is. But early in the summer the manager of one of the lunch-rooms in the city came to me and said she had a girl who had been undergoing a year's experience in her own little lunch-room, and would we give her a chance in ours? We thought it over and decided that we would do so. So she came to us. Before she came we wondered what kind of work she could do. We started her in on eight hours a day, giving her light work, but such as required care. She began looking over meat. It is most difficult to get for this work the trained worker. We have in our kitchen a large amount of ground meat which has to be looked over. Perhaps it never occurs to you, when you are eating your croquettes, that the meat of which they are made has to undergo a very close inspection to rid it of bone and gristle. It takes an hour and a half to do that kind of work. We gave her the inspection of the meat and found she did it carefully and well. We really felt a decided ray of hope that the schools of Boston were beginning to train the girls to do things carefully, and that in the future we should have their coöperation in preparing girls to take infinite pains.

We had one girl who started as a "checker." All the food that is served on trays has to be checked, as you know. She had some bookkeeping knowledge, so we gave her a trial as a bookkeeper, in which she did exceedingly well. When we were reorganizing our bakery and putting it on a scientific basis, we took her and made her bakery superintendent, and

in this work she has done very well, indeed. She has in five years gone from \$3.75 a week to a position where she is now getting \$15 a week on a seven-hour day.

We have in our employ ten high-school girls, five of whom are doing "short-time" work. Mrs. Moran has called your attention to the fact that a certain number of girls really wish to have employment for a short number of hours each day. I found that out of five of these, three had been with us five years and the other two, two and three years. So you can see it is not simply a drifting work, but something that has met a real need. There are five other girls who are high-school graduates on "short-time" work, getting from \$8 to \$15 a week, with two meals. And we consider that they are going to be in time very efficient and valuable workers.

The three qualities which I consider most essential in this kind of work are: First, that the girl should be able to take a great deal of care; secondly, that she should be ambitious to attain a certain standard of excellence in the work; and, thirdly, that she should be able to secure good team play. We are fortunate in our place in having a large kitchen in which to work, yet even then you can guess the amount of friction that inevitably occurs where so many work together. The girl who aspires to a managerial position must be able to secure this good team play, be able to work well with other people. I have had quite a good deal of experience with girls, and I feel that they would all have been of very much more value to us if they could have had practical experience like this before taking up the regular college work.

I think this whole business of feeding people has been too much looked down upon by every one. It rests to a great extent with the teachers to correct this idea. I think there is an artistic sense involved in getting up a well-balanced bill of fare, and it seems to me that we have the right to expect that one of the most valuable results incident to women going into industry as they have in the last few years will be the bettering of conditions, and I wish that you teachers, in talking with your girls, would emphasize the fact that theirs is a great opportunity in shaping these conditions. If condi-

tions are poor in certain restaurants and lunch-rooms, people must get to work to change them. Competition alone will do a great deal in accomplishing that thing.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q. Is there any chance for a woman, after she has reached middle age, to remain in this work?

A. I do not think that I can answer that question authoritatively. I know that a good many women who have reached middle age are holding their positions in this work. It is a matter of regret that the tenure of office of some of our waitresses has been fully twelve years. The strain of such work is considerable, and one of the essentials of such work is that you should be very quick and clear-headed. It would seem that after such a time the waitress should have advanced to different and better positions.

Q. Are those two meals that the waitresses get as good as what the patrons receive?

A. In answering that question, I must again speak from my limited experience. Our waitresses have what is called a "restricted" menu; that is, they have the same things to eat that the guests secure except that they do not get the more expensive dishes, such as chicken. I understand that it is the custom in some summer hotels to give employees what is left when the guests get through.

Q. Could not something be done to help waitresses get better food?

A. I think there is always a way to do the thing that ought to be done. We should, of course, have to establish the fact, first, that conditions need to be changed.

Q. What are the chances for a girl to start out for herself in lunch-room work?

A. There is always an opportunity for a well-managed lunch-room, the only difficulty being that considerable capital is required to start with. Still, unless it is done in a rather large way, it is not apt to be profitable.

Q. Would you advise a girl to go into hotel work as a waitress?

A. I should not. The city hotels are not well managed, and that is because they lack proper supervision.

ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING

I shall speak to-day merely of the average boy or girl. I shall not refer to the genius except to say at the very outset that the ordinary laws do not govern his actions. Therefore what I shall have to offer will be what seem to me the possibilities in the field of electrical engineering for the average boy or girl, and I must say right here, at the beginning, that, from my point of view, there is a comparatively limited field for the girl in electrical engineering lines, though I ought to add that *one of the best men in the engineering profession in the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company is a woman*. Of course that is a very rare exception, yet I hope I shall be able to show that in certain branches of engineering there is ample opportunity and good prospects for successful and profitable work for women.

Electrical engineering reaches modern industrial conditions so intimately and at so many points that it seems to me that those characteristics which tend to successful accomplishment in electrical engineering are very little different from those which tend to successful accomplishment in almost any branch of professional activity.

Electrical engineering touches the fields of intercommunication in the telegraph and telephone, embraces mining, the use of electric lines, transportation on the electric street railways and the interurban railway, which latter promises enormous growth in the near future, and also the field of illuminating engineering. ~~In this last branch I believe women may well play an important part.~~ The electric signals for all branches of the railway service may also properly come within the field of the electrical engineer.

Now, if we consider any one branch of the electrical engineering profession, we find that in general it may be divided into distinct groups of effort, involving either the sales side, the pure engineering side, the manufacturing side, the financial side, or the accounting side.

So far as relative remuneration is concerned along these various lines, I think there is no question but that from the standpoint of the average boy the commercial or sales side offers the greatest opportunity by far. And by saying that I think it offers the greatest opportunity I mean this: that the boy of the average high-school training, with the average keenness, the average enthusiasm and interest in whatever work he may undertake, is likely, without a specialized knowledge, to make a greater advance in the sales department than he is in the purely engineering department, in the accounting department, or the financial department. I believe that the average boy is apt to succeed better in the sales department than he is in the department of manufacturing. There are opportunities in the department of manufacturing for a few — not a large number — but for a few leading, high-priced men. On the other hand, there are opportunities in the sales department for a considerable number of leading, high-priced men, and it is for that reason that, so far as my own experience goes, I believe it is wise to direct the average keen, alert boy to the possibilities in the commercial line rather than in the purely engineering line. It is not at all a difficult thing for one good engineer to keep a thousand average workmen well occupied. It is, however, becoming more and more important in the engineering profession that goods, after being produced, should be sold. And it takes, I think, a different order of ability to present to a possible customer the advantages of a particular line of product from that required to design or operate electrical machinery. I should, therefore, if I were dealing with the student of the average high-school age, feel strongly inclined to direct his attention to the sales rather than to any other one of the special departments in the engineering profession.

Now, what are the characteristics which are important in the average boy for him to make a success along electrical engineering lines. I dislike to say along electrical engineering lines because I believe that those elements which contribute most markedly to the success of a young man entering the profession of engineering are not very different, whatever branch he may choose to enter. I do not think it is very

different in civil engineering from what it is in electrical engineering, not very different in mining from what it is in mechanical engineering. Pretty much the same general characteristics count for success in all of these lines of work. I shall, of course, assume that any boy who goes into engineering has a high regard for truth, because engineering in its very essence is the securing of the truth and the application of that truth to the advancement of the interests of mankind. I should imagine, therefore, that we may accept it as fundamental that any boy who enters the engineering profession shall be honest. If he is, however, to enter the profession it is absolutely essential that, whatever else he may be, he should be mentally alert. For no man who is at all sluggish in his temperament will make a success in the highest sense of the term in the engineering profession. So many opportunities arise calling for quick judgment. I do not say that the slow but sure boy will not make a certain success, but he will not make the success, other things being equal, that the mentally alert boy will make. So I regard this quality as one of the chief assets of a boy who is to enter that profession. It is not only in the sales department that this is true; it is markedly true in the operation department, and those of us who know of this side of the work know that there are many emergencies which arise calling for instant action, preceded by unerring judgment.

I believe that for the boy who is going into engineering mental arithmetic is one of the best things which can be studied. If I were to choose between partial payments and a good sound knowledge of mental arithmetic, I should not hesitate one instant to leave out the partial payments and put in the mental arithmetic. For mental alertness is brought about by mental arithmetic more than by any other study, to my mind.

And while I am speaking of those things which conduce to the ability of the teacher to judge of the character of the boy, I would urge that there be in the high schools a greater realization of the importance of bringing the boy in contact with some of the real things which are taking place along engineering lines. There is no reason why the schoolboy of

seventeen or eighteen should not be brought into contact with a real power station, for instance, rather than be simply hearing about it. There is no reason why he should not be brought into contact with a real telephone exchange. And I believe that the teacher will get a very clear idea as to whether that boy has any sense of perspective or not from the character of the questions he asks or the descriptions he gives of this visit. It seems to me that in much of this discussion of the possibility of picking for a boy the particular vocation in which he is likely to be successful there has been altogether too much analysis of the individual and too little bringing him in contact with the actual operations.

Boys thinking of entering the electrical profession must of necessity be good observers; they must analyze the situation; they must think. And thinking is not a commodity to-day among students so absolutely in excess of the demand that we may pass it by without some careful consideration. They must observe, I say, they must analyze, they must think, and there is no reason why a boy who has had the average high-school training and comes up to this standard should not succeed in some particular line of engineering work without further training. It is possible for men with only a grammar-school training to rise to positions of real distinction. I have known of those who did so.

One minor point which I might speak of here is the importance to students who think of entering the work of engineering of keeping some form of systematic data. I believe that there is no reason whatever why a young man of sixteen or seventeen should not begin to collect such data, an examination of which by the teacher will show the trend of that boy's mind. I have inquired of many high-school teachers and masters of high schools as to whether any systematic card cataloguing was done along this line, and I find that it is by no means general, and in fact rare. But if we are to judge whether a boy's qualities are such as to make it probable that he will be successful in engineering work, it seems to me that we can get the tendency of his mentality, the tendency of his interest, by having him collect for himself such data as I have spoken of. I do not believe, however,

that our most promising material comes from the boys who as children were always rigging up batteries from old tomato cans; but I do believe that it comes from the boys who show a certain interest in these things, and I think such interest should be encouraged.

A boy who is going into engineering or any other kind of work must realize the importance of loyalty and mutual helpfulness. There are too many boys who go out into work with the idea that the great thing is to look out for No. 1; that their advancement depends upon what they do for themselves; and they do not realize that in the organization of which they form a small part those that are responsible are very keen to observe whether a boy is loyal to his employer and whether he is mutually helpful to his fellow-employees.

My feeling, then, is, briefly, that we must accept as fundamental for any boy who is going into engineering work, that he should be honest, that he should be mentally alert, that he should show in some way that he is able even at the age of fifteen or sixteen to discriminate between the trivial and the important. Though not absolutely essential, it is desirable that he should have a high-school training. And he should have an appreciation of the importance of mutual helpfulness.

I do not think that it is absolutely necessary that a boy should be trained in the higher mathematics, though it is important that he should have some power of imagination. Imagination is a very important asset for the engineer, but that he should show some power of analysis also seems to me absolutely essential. The importance of the personal element cannot be too strongly dwelt upon, especially in the sales department. It is very important for any man who is selling his product to know sufficient of its engineering relations to be able to put explicitly and briefly and tactfully before his possible customer its best points, and to size up the situation so that he shall know when he has gone far enough. I believe that more sales are lost from the attempt to be a little old man and thus bore the prospective customer into buying for the sake of getting rid of a nuisance.

Just a word in regard to illuminating engineering. Illuminating engineering is a distinct branch of the electrical engineering profession, and this is a field into which I believe a girl may very well enter. It does not require that a person shall be highly trained in mathematics, in language, or in literature. It *does* require that he should have a good knowledge of physics and æsthetics, for he should possess good taste. It seems, therefore, that it is preëminently a field for women. I think the æsthetic sense of womankind is certainly, so far as my experience goes, somewhat superior to that of mankind, and therefore, since illuminating engineering is in its infancy a young girl of sixteen or seventeen or eighteen — a girl just developing into womanhood — might do very much worse in my judgment than study the subject of illuminating engineering, with the idea of making it a profession. It is very much like sanitary engineering in that regard. There is more demand than supply.

Now, as to what remuneration may be expected for the average boy who is entering one of the larger manufacturing companies to secure needed experience before taking a position of greater or less independence, I can only say that the wage which the average boy may expect upon leaving the high school will not be greater at the start than eight or nine dollars a week. I have known many college men to begin at nine dollars per week. The boy has got to make his own place. Some boys will go ahead faster than others, of course. As to what a boy may rise to in the sales line, there is no reason whatsoever why he should not rapidly rise to \$2000 or \$2500 a year, and there is no reason why a boy of marked ability should not go some thousands beyond that. The sales engineer is a very well-paid man. I don't say that all sales engineers get \$4000 or \$5000 a year, any more than all teachers get that. But there is no reason why he cannot rapidly rise to at least \$2000. In the purely engineering department I think progress is slower. I cannot say much about the financial department. In the work of the illuminating engineer there is every reason to believe that the best opportunity is along consulting lines, and any one of us who has done that work knows that it is extremely profitable.

On the accounting side I believe that the returns are not very different from those of the average bookkeeper. And you know what those are. They are small.

If you ask, Is not the profession of engineer crowded? I say, yes it is. And why should n't it be? It is an attractive field. There are many opportunities — and the opportunities exist for the boy or girl without a college training, not to the same degree, perhaps, as for the boy or girl with college training, but certainly to a hopeful degree. We hear it said that for college men there is more and more demand. Of course, after the high-school graduate gets his job, the question of success depends upon himself, but I believe that any teacher who looks at the thing from the standpoint of general mental ability, loyalty, mutual helpfulness, keenness in analysis, ability to distinguish between the essential and the trivial, I can say that such a boy's chances for advancement are very hopeful.

THE BUILDING TRADES

The question you are interested in, I take it, is the information necessary in order to advise a particular boy intelligently in the matter of taking up the building trades. There are only a limited number of things that any boy can do. He can go into the mechanical industry, or he can go into commerce or transportation, or some of the professions. The first question for him to decide is, Which of these am I best fitted for? If he has mechanical ability to any degree at all this fact is true, — that he has practically as good an opportunity either in some sort of mechanical industry or in the building trades as in any other one of the fields that I could mention. The building trades have been growing and developing with surprising rapidity for the last decade or two, and there is every indication that they are going to in the future. So it is wise for the boy to consider seriously entering some kind of occupation where he will have the opportunity to use his mechanical ability.

The next question is, How shall we find out whether any particular boy has an aptitude for mechanical work or not?

Fortunately, this is a thing that is usually easy to determine. Almost any boy begins as a child to show a constructive tendency if he has mechanical ability. He likes to build things, to put things together. He likes to create things on a small scale, in his boyish way, in much the same manner that his father and his elders build things and construct things in a substantial and real way. Observe the boy in his boyhood and judge if he has natural structural ability. It is probably easier to determine this than to determine almost any other of his natural capacities. If he does show these indications it is wise to consider seriously his entering some line of mechanical work.

Now the kind of mechanical work he shall do will depend very largely on how the boy is circumstanced. If he has the intellectual power, in addition to the mechanical gift, to go on with his school training, and if he is so situated in his home surroundings that it is possible for him to continue his training, the proper thing for that boy to do is to go on through the high school and into college or technical school and get a thorough engineering training, with the hope of entering into the important positions in mechanical industry. He may go into architecture, or mechanical engineering, or electrical engineering, or what not. Which one it will be he can determine later. The decision which he should make early is, whether he shall continue his school work into the high school, with the idea of getting a college training. Of course that will depend, in its turn, upon his own and his family's circumstances and upon his intellectual power. As a rule it is fairly easy to determine how far a boy who is going into mechanical work shall continue his school training, his preparation for industrial work. Just as soon as you know accurately his home conditions, his parents' means, and his own progress and attainment in his school work, you can judge pretty well whether this particular boy is likely to be able to stay in school until he is twenty-two or twenty-three or twenty-four years old. Granted that he has the opportunity to stay in school and get the thorough preparation, the chances are about ninety-nine out of a hundred that it is the wise thing for him to do. There may be exceptions, but

I think the chances are as great as ninety-nine out of a hundred that it is wise, because the mechanical industries and the building trades are getting each year more and more complicated. There are more and more kinds of material that are being used, more and more ways in which those materials are put together. Therefore scientific knowledge and systematic methods are more and more essential. The boy cannot get too much training as a background for his work.

Suppose, on the other hand, he is a boy who is forced to go to work when he is fourteen or sixteen years of age, and must get along as best he can under those conditions. If he is going into mechanical work I would again urge that one of the essential things for that boy to get in mind is the necessity of training for something more than just the muscles of his arm, the skill of his fingertips. He has got to train himself in mechanical intelligence. Fortunately, there are abundant opportunities in Boston for such a boy, who is obliged to go to work in the daytime, to get supplementary training in the evening schools in the particular line which is his choice.

The boy starting in at sixteen years of age has comparatively few opportunities for employment excepting as an apprentice and a helper of one sort or another. He does n't get a chance to commence to work with tools. His employer cannot trust him with them until he has had years of experience in the kind of work that he is going to take up. So that it is all the more necessary for him to have somebody on-the outside, apart from his employer, guiding him and directing him.

Also, he has got to make his decision between two general types of mechanical work: He must choose between the building branch and the manufacturing branch. Each has its advantages, and each, perhaps, its drawbacks. In general, if he gets started in the manufacturing trades the chance of his finding continuous, settled employment for all the months of the year will be better than in the building trades. In the latter work continuous employment under one employer is generally a difficult thing to secure. In the former work there is more likelihood of his getting continuous employment. On the other hand, if he looks at the matter of

wages, the mechanic in the building trades as a rule receives a much higher rate of wage than the mechanic in the manufacturing branch does, though in the long run the two offset one another.

But, aside from the question of continuous employment and the rate of wages, there is one thing that I would ask you to remember particularly and to point out to young men whom you have occasion to counsel, and that is, not so much the question of the immediate advantage of one type of work over another, as the ultimate goal to which one class of positions or another class of positions may lead. I don't like the term position very well because it suggests something that is stationary. Instead I like to think of these lines of work as pathways that lead *somewhere*. It is true that some of them don't appear to lead to any definite future, and a good deal has been said and written on the subject of so-called "dead-end" positions; but my observation is that these are extremely rare, for you come across very much more frequently a "dead-end" boy that has n't the ambition or has n't the vitality to climb than you come across a position which does n't offer opportunities to the boy who has the vision to see the future that is in front of him, and the perseverance to climb step by step.

Because of the conditions which I spoke of a moment ago, namely the uncertainty of employment, as soon as a boy finishes a job on one building, the chances are that he has got to look for a new one on some other building. He finds his life almost of necessity a roving life, from job to job, from employer to employer. This condition requires an unusual degree of perseverance, an unusual degree of skill in finding new situations, in adjusting one's self to the uncertainty of business and the hurly-burly of the survival of the fittest. The slow, plodding, persevering boy, for that reason, is often, under such circumstances, left behind, where the same quality might be of great value to him in enabling him to rise slowly, step by step, in some kind of a position where he had the opportunity before him of working continuously, month in and month out, year in and year out, under the same employer, who could plan work for him in advance.

An accurate survey of the building trades in Boston to-day would show a very small percentage of American boys entering the building trades. It would also find a rather surprisingly small percentage of skilled mechanics in the building trades who had learned their trades in this country. To a very large degree, though not exclusively, the building trades are recruited from men who have learned their trade in Europe and who have come over here at times of special stress and have stayed here because of the higher rate of wages. The statistics of our immigration show a very large number of persons entering into this country every year. Newspapers give us these figures, and we are surprised at the great multitude crossing the ocean, especially in the spring. As a rule comparatively little is said in the newspapers about the current going the other way; and as an actual fact, during the last three months, a very large percentage of the number of people who crossed as immigrants last spring have been returning to their homes in Europe. It is this passing back and forth between Europe and America that supplies the varying demand for mechanics in a good many of our building trades throughout the whole of the East and to some extent as far West as the Mississippi River.

I have described in a general way the situation as I find it. In each one of the different branches of the trade there is a splendid opportunity not only to get good positions and a living at the start, but in each one of them there is a pathway that leads on and up, and the boy who has perseverance and ambition has a better opportunity even than skilled mechanics.

THE PROFESSION OF THE ARCHITECT

... It is a satisfying profession. . . . I have never regretted through fair or foul weather the decision that I then made to be an architect. . . . I remember a further inquiry which I made, because it throws a side light on the profession. I was talking to two members of a firm, and I said, 'I suppose an architect has to have a certain skill in drawing.' In

that case it took two of them to make an architect because one had no skill in drawing. Do not tell your pupils you don't need to know how to draw.

I suppose you want to know what an architect is. Books say architecture is decorative construction. An architect, therefore, is a designer of decorative construction. I prefer to say a designer of appropriate construction. . . . I mean the architect must have a sense of fitness, a sense of the requirements of his building so that he will design a construction that meets those requirements, that could not equally well meet another set of requirements. He is helped in this by the architectural development of the age. . . . A question that is often asked is, why should n't women be architects? They are not naturally in close touch with building materials and those that make use of them. They can be architects, — some few are, — but they are much more naturally conversant with the materials of interior decoration, with textiles, with paper, and their keen color sense makes it easy for them to produce happy results. . . . As an architect not only thinks in terms of building materials, but studies the fitness of expression that must be achieved in his building, he knows more or less — generally less — of the historic architecture of all countries. He has, at least, an idea of former civilizations. He has a very definite idea of civilizations of to-day and their material and spiritual requirements. It goes without saying that a building that would be suitable for a church in Germany would not be suitable for a church in northern California.

In appealing to children I think you must not be too definite in your own minds as to the common figures regarding the profession. I don't know whether architecture is a profitable profession or not. I suppose people make a living by it or there would not still continue to be architects. I know the standard of attainment in the profession was never higher than it is to-day. . . . But I know it is not a profession in which it is easy to work up from the ranks. . . . I speak of this because if you have high-school pupils in your charge you may very well direct them toward tradesmanship. They may learn drafting . . . but it would n't constitute

training necessary for an architect. In the offices in England it is a common thing to find draftsmen who have taken up draftsmanship as a profession and never expect to get beyond it. The Americans are more ambitious. Usually in an American office there will be young men who aspire to get experience which will enable them to open offices of their own, and that makes them from the outset interested in architecture as a whole rather than a form of building. . . . The draftsman who is chiefly a designer of decoration is not necessarily in sympathy with the materials in which his ideas will be worked out. There is a type of architectural draftsman whom you cannot drag away from the drawing-board. . . . So, as I was saying, there is a type content with the drawing-board, but not ambitious to design a building and see it built. No architect that I know of is ever satisfied with the second place in the competition to say nothing of the emoluments . . . although we know very well that not everything we draw is sure to be realized in material.

As you probably know, when a boy goes into an office knowing very little except what he has learned in school, he generally has to learn the alphabet. When we put him to calling people on the telephone we find he does n't know it, and his greatest difficulty for the next few weeks is to study that — at least, that is the experience with those who come into my office. . . . A boy gets \$5 or \$6 a week running errands, tending the telephone, and making tracings of full-sized drawings. Those are the principal duties of a boy in an architect's office. The tracings are his opportunity for his growth. A boy ought never to draw a line the meaning of which he does not understand, and if the office is well organized, he will not be long in finding the meaning of the lines. . . . From the tracings he comes in time — sometimes a year or two — to making simple drawings from scale himself. . . . When a boy can do what is called quarter-scale drawing, he may be worth \$8 or \$12 a week. . . . In a few years more, especially if he makes use of his evenings, he will get so that a building of some importance can be worked out by him from the architect's sketches, with oversight. If he shows good taste and good judgment, he will gradually come

to be worth \$18 or \$20 a week. (I am speaking of Boston now.) . . . The boy who has found his work, who is interested in design, who studies at night, or better still, in the afternoon in one of the technical schools, is fitting himself by learning what he is less likely to be able to learn in the office, that is the theory of design. . . . Design alone is not sufficient equipment. . . . The Boston Public Library . . . is an illustration of the right kind of building . . . and significant example as it is of the effective use of building material, I assure you that that building would look almost ordinary if executed in common brick.

Q. What are the problems of a beginner who does not get into an office and tries to build up a practice?

A. In this community I think it is pretty hard for an architect to get work unless he has acquaintances and friends. It is a small profession and most Boston architects would agree it is overcrowded. It is not the place to begin unless a man has excellent technical training and a good many friends. . . .

TRAINED NURSING

I

"Nursing is a most natural, useful, and fascinating occupation for women."

Handicaps which deter many girls from entering the profession: —

Long hours.

Poor food.

Short working life.

Military discipline.

Mothers, teachers, and pastors all fight against having a girl enter.

They are trying to correct these handicaps and are succeeding; one girl in a hundred regrets taking up the work, and there are great compensations for the disadvantages. They are also trying to direct the attention of a better class of girls to this vocation.

Qualifications necessary: —

"All qualifications which would make a first-class teacher would make a first-class nurse."

Warmth of disposition.

Kindness of heart.

Willingness to work with hands.

Attractive appearance.

Alert mind.

A girl who likes to help her mother; loves to make people comfortable; never runs away from the sick and is kind to all suffering things makes the best nurse.

Educational preparation: —

Latin almost essential on account of medical terms.

Good English absolutely necessary.

Good spelling and writing.

Anatomy and physiology.

Courses in college or nursing preparatory course.

Chemistry.

Preparatory course given at Teachers' College, Columbia University, and at Simmons College.

Advantages offered by hospitals: —

Massachusetts General: eight-hour system; fifty-six hours a week. Good food and pleasant home life. Good opportunities for graduates. A candidate may visit the school to investigate and find out the curriculum. Nurses are cared for if ill. Could place all graduates, opportunities increasing daily.

Salaries: —

Private nurses: \$25 a week with living expenses. Equivalent to institutional position at \$600 a year.

In institutions, \$40 to \$75 a month, or experience may bring as much as \$150.

Superintendent of training-school, \$125 to \$150 a month.

Head nurses, \$40 (about).

School, district, and social welfare nurses, \$40 to \$65. In Philadelphia, \$1800 a year.

Regular vacations, and opportunities to rest at night. Not all work easy, but all interesting.

Graduates in 1910 and 1911: —

20 in institutions.

10 in private work.

3 anæsthetists.

1 nurse in laboratory.

1 social worker (\$75 per month).

1 district nurse (\$70 per month).

1 nurse instructor (\$65 per month).

Entrance examinations: —

Arithmetic, fractions, and percentage.

Age limit being abandoned: prefer candidate of twenty-one years, but will take girls from eighteen to twenty. Girl ought to enter school which will make her eligible to national Red Cross organization. Call coming for candidates who can teach; in schools, settlements, etc. Good health necessary for girls who enter. Period of training is three years. In some schools tuition or fee is charged. In others small allowance is made to cover cost of uniform and books. Living expenses are given, with a few exceptions.

II

Hard for nurses to save anything, but institutional nurses have more chance to than private ones. Popularity of private nursing decreasing. Position as nurse in doctor's office pays best. Increasing call for nurses in tuberculosis cases, and for those who can teach mothers and prevent infant mortality. Demand for district nurses greater than supply.

Social standing, good; better than formerly: move in good society and apt to marry well.

Training schools: some are frauds, and one should be careful in choosing. Few salaried instructors.

Not a dangerous trade. No person with organic disease admitted. Candidates apt to improve in health. Work, twelve hours a day.

At Massachusetts General a high-school education or equivalent is required. Standards are going up all the time. To-day less faith in use of drugs; more in nursing.

IV

EXAMPLE OF OCCUPATIONAL STUDY FOR THE USE OF THE LONDON JUVENILE LABOR EXCHANGES

CONDITIONS OF JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT IN STEAM LAUNDRIES

THE number of persons employed in the County of London, according to the latest Factory and Workshop Returns made for 1907, in steam laundries and in hand laundries under the Factory and Workshop Act is shown in the following table: —

County of London, 1907 — Laundries

<i>Works and depart- ments</i>	<i>Male persons employed</i>				<i>Female persons employed</i>			
	<i>Under 16</i>	<i>16 and under 18</i>	<i>18 and upwards</i>	<i>Total males</i>	<i>Under 16</i>	<i>16 and under 18</i>	<i>18 and upwards</i>	<i>Total females</i>
Factories 555	87	171	1,781	2,039	816	1,541	15,653	18,010
Workshops 1,037	13	23	323	359	81	225	7,631	7,937

The number of young persons employed in hand laundries is obviously too small for any inquiry with regard to them to be profitable in connection with juvenile employment, except in so far as they might offer facilities for training in high-class laundry work for a limited number of hours and days a week. The inquiry has, therefore, been restricted to steam laundries.

Information was obtained with regard to 150 steam laundries employing over 12,000 persons, or an average of 80 persons per laundry. The 405 steam laundries not visited,

or giving only vague information, in nearly all cases employed less than 25 persons in 1907. Of the 150 firms giving information tabulated in this report, 119 were visited by Miss Woodgate and 31 by Miss Gladys M. Broughton. Detailed reports of their visits have been furnished to the Secretary of the London Juvenile Advisory Committee.

The largest number of well-constructed laundries was found in South London.

Number of persons employed by firms giving information grouped under the Labor Exchange areas visited

<i>Labor Exchange area</i>	<i>Number employed by firms giving information</i>	<i>Percentage of total employed by firms giving information</i>
Clapham Junction.....	2,214	18.2
Camberwell.....	2,073	17.0
Elephant.....	1,071	8.8
Other areas south of Thames....	896	7.4
Shepherd's Bush.....	1,466	12.1
Walham Green.....	1,446	11.9
Hackney.....	1,393	11.5
Islington.....	1,008	8.3
Other areas north of Thames....	588	4.8
Total.....	12,155	100

The number of boys employed in steam laundries is very small. A few are taken on at fourteen or fifteen years of age as van-boys, and occasionally they become van drivers later on. A few boys of sixteen or more are employed in the wash-house, beginning as hydro-extractor boys and then moving on to washing machines. Wash-house work is heavy, and few vacancies occur. Men washers earn usually from 23s. to 30s., and van-men from 22s. to 28s. They are usually recruited from other trades.

The number of men engaged in hand laundries is larger than appears from the returns, as the employers are frequently husband and wife, and both engaged in the manual work of the laundry themselves.

For reasons which will be examined later on the proportion of young girls in the laundry trade is exceptionally small, and many laundries dislike employing any under sixteen years of age. The factory returns show an average of less than two girls under sixteen per steam laundry. Learners, therefore, were frequently found to be between 16 and 18 and in some cases over eighteen years of age.

	<i>Number of work-people employed by firms giving information</i>	<i>Percentage of total employed by firms giving information</i>	<i>Learners to 100 persons em- ployed</i>
With no learners.....	1,763	14.5	0
Stating number of learners. ...	6,909	56.8	7
Not stating number of learners	3,483	28.7	Not stated.
Total.....	12,155	100	

Girls are engaged as calender workers, hand ironers, shirt and collar machine ironers, packers and sorters, and in various miscellaneous jobs such as "shaking out," "trotting," etc.

The least skilled work, on which these girl learners can at once receive wages, is taking the articles as they pass out at the back of the calender. The most skilled is hand ironing, which is rarely taught in steam laundries to girls under sixteen.

Wages of learners. The difference with regard to skill required, shown by the initial wage of the learner, is indicated in the table at the top of page 247. Disregarding a first week's trial for nothing the following initial rates were paid.

In many cases hand ironers gave three months for nothing, being taught by a skilled ironer who received anything they earned, and were afterwards put on piecework.

Wages in second and third years. The different ages at which beginners are taken on make it impossible for any fixed rules to be made with regard to increases in rates of pay. A strong girl of seventeen or eighteen will earn much more in her second and third years than young girls of four-

Percentages of work-people¹ employed by firms paying the specified initial weekly wages to learners

<i>Initial weekly wages</i>	<i>Calender workers</i>	<i>Packers and sorters</i>	<i>Hand ironers</i>
Nil.....	1.0	29.8	49.7
Under 2s.....		3.1	6.2
2s. and under 3s.....	5.8	4.9	24.1
3s. " 4s.....	16.8	15.6	14.8
4s. " 5s.....	17.0	7.2	3.2
5s. " 6s.....	48.1	33.3	2.5
6s. and upwards.....	11.3	1.1	
Total.....	100	100	100
Number of work-people ¹ employed by firms giving information.	6735	7170	5203

teen or fifteen. Nor is it the custom for a girl to stay at the branch which she may have started on. After the first few months she finds out what she prefers and the vacancies constantly created in a trade employing such a large proportion of adult women give her good chances of going on to skilled work.

The Board of Trade Wages Inquiry for 1906 showed that in London Steam Laundries of girls under 18 working full time:—

	<i>25 per cent earned</i>	<i>25 per cent earned</i>	<i>25 per cent earned</i>	<i>25 per cent earned</i>
Calenderers.....	5s. or less	5s. to 6s.	s. to 7s.	7s. and upwards.
Receivers, markers, sorters, and packers.....	5s. or less	5s. to 6s.	s. to 8s.	8s. "
Hand ironers (piece).....	7s. or less	7s. to 8s.	8s. to 9s. 6d.	9s. 6d. "
Machine ironers.....	4s. or less	4s. to 6s.	6s. to 8s.	8s. "

As stated above the hand ironers on piecework would generally have served about three months for nothing or for a small time wage.

¹ Total number irrespective of occupation.

Range of earnings of competent workers. Except in the case of hand ironers, either day wages or weekly wages are customary in laundries. Ironers engaged on work requiring especial care are also paid by the week, day, or hour, and machine ironers are sometimes paid by piece.

Some difficulty arises in comparing wages from the fact that in different branches the length of the customary week may be different. Packers and sorters are generally engaged the whole of the week. Ironers frequently only begin on Tuesday and often finish on Friday.

In the Board of Trade Wages Inquiry those working at least five days a week were counted as working full time. The ranges of earnings of these full-time workers in London are given below:—

Percentage of adult women (full timers) whose earnings for a given week fell within the undermentioned limits — 1906

<i>Limits of earnings of women 18 years and upwards</i>	<i>Calenderers Time</i>	<i>Hand ironers Piece</i>	<i>Receivers, makers, sorters, packers Time</i>
Under 10s.....	35.0	13.0	9.6
10s. and under 15s...	60.7	55.8	41.3
15s. " 20s...	4.1	26.8	36.9
20s. " 25s...	0.2	4.0	11.4
25s. and upwards....	—	0.4	0.8
Total.....	100	100	100
Number included in returns.....	509	1737	613

These returns for 1906 may be compared with the statements as to maximum rates earned in different branches made by employers visited in 1911-12.

Percentage of persons employed by firms paying the undermentioned maximum rates to specified classes of workers — 1911-12

<i>Maximum rates</i>	<i>Calenderers</i>	<i>Hand ironers</i>	<i>Receivers, markers, sorters, and packers</i>
Under 10s.....	0.4	—	—
10s. and under 15s.....	89.9	2.7	3.4
15s. “ 20s.....	9.7	27.3	32.1
20s. “ 25s.....	—	43.4	39.2
25s. and upwards.....	—	26.6	25.3
Total.....	100	100	100
Total number of persons in all branches employed by firms giving information..	8391	7552	10362

The statements conveyed in the last table may be summed up:—

(1) The most competent calender workers rarely reach 15s. a week.

(2) Competent hand ironers, packers, and sorters can practically always earn 15s. a week, and in laundries employing one fourth of the work-people covered by the reports can rise to 25s. and upwards.

It will be noticed that whereas the table of maximum rates paid gives a rather better position to hand ironers than to packers and sorters, the table of actual earnings gives a better position to packers and sorters.

This is explained by the much greater irregularity in the hours observed by many of the ironers, who are often married women, and the number of cases in which “full time” for ironers includes only five days.

The percentage of women over eighteen who earned less than 10s. is very largely due to the number of adult women who enter the laundries as beginners.

Hours of work. All the laundries visited were organized

according to one of two of the systems allowed by the Factory and Workshop Act, 1907.

Nearly all laundries are kept running the full time permitted them, but in the large majority of cases only certain sections of the workers are actually at work during the whole period.

The laundries which choose the system which allows them to work from 8 A.M. until 9 P.M. on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday every week begin work at 11 A.M. on Mondays and close at 4 P.M. on Saturdays.

The laundries which choose the system which allows them to work from 8 A.M. to 8 P.M. on ordinary days and 8 A.M. to 4 P.M. on Saturday are allowed to work one hour later on not more than four days, other than Saturday, in any one week, and not more than sixty days in any calendar year.

Under both systems young persons must always cease work at 8 P.M. at the latest.

Percentage of the total number of work-people in all branches employed in laundries where the understated hours were worked in an ordinary week by the specified groups of workers.

<i>Hours per week exclusive of mealtimes</i>	<i>Adult packers and sorters</i>	<i>Juvenile packers and sorters</i>	<i>Adult calender workers</i>	<i>Juvenile calender workers</i>	<i>Adult ironers</i>	<i>Juvenile ironers</i>
Under 45	0.3		2.3	2.3	11.6	17.7
45 and under 47½	0.8	0.5	1.3	0.4	21.2	27.8
47½ " 50	5.4	7.0	3.2	6.7	30.2	25.7
50 " 52½	3.6	3.5	8.7	4.4	9.1	1.6
52½ " 55	14.4	16.8	17.5	20.1	11.4	11.9
55 " 57½	15.4	34.8	12.8	28.7	10.5	10.8
57½ " 60	17.9	8.1	18.0	10.2	5.0	3.8
60	42.2	29.3	36.2	27.2	1.0	0.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of persons in all branches employed by firms giving information	10895	9379	10825	9368	7820	5722

The packers and sorters are those who are the first to begin and the last to finish. Sometimes calender workers not

required at the calenders are expected to "clean up" on Mondays or Saturdays. As these are the two departments in which young persons are the most readily employed, this means that young persons are often employed longer hours per week than many adults.

The number of young persons engaged as ironers is very small, and it can be seen from these tables that in laundries employing more than two thirds of the work-people covered by the reports, young persons employed as calender workers, packers, and sorters worked fifty-five hours and upwards; and that in laundries employing more than one fourth, young persons employed in these branches worked sixty hours in an ordinary week.

Slack season. It is doubtful whether any trade gives such regular employment to women as steam laundry work. August and September are months affected by slackness in London, but the holiday exodus is to some extent balanced by the inward stream of provincial and foreign visitors. Seaside laundries, besides importing skilled labor from London, send work into London. Shorter time may have to be worked, but in most laundries all the workers paid weekly wages receive full pay even in slack weeks.

The Board of Trade Wages Inquiry for 1906 showed very slight variations in numbers employed, ranging from 98.0 per cent of the average number in February to 103.2 per cent in June. The wages fluctuations ranged from 93.3 per cent of the average in August to 107.3 per cent in June.

Arrangements for meals. Except in West London some kind of arrangement was generally made for meals to be eaten on the premises.

Number and percentage of work-people grouped according to the arrangements for meals —

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Meals purchasable on premises	2,027	16.7
Provision made for heating food	7,625	62.7
May have meals on premises	164	1.4
Must have meals outside	731	6.0
Vague or no information	1,608	13.2
Total	12,155	100.0

Special qualifications required. For success as a sorter and packer, intelligence, accuracy, and good education are all necessary, and combined with capacity for management may make promotion from the wage-earning ranks possible.

Cleanliness, respectability, average height and strength are desired for calender workers.

Ironers need height, strength, "a straight eye," and a desire to learn.

Training. Although ironing, packing, and other branches require skill and experience for efficiency, the demand for workers is too great for any system of apprenticeship to be insisted on. In some cases girls pay 10s. or 20s. premium to be taught ironing and give a certain time for nothing. There are rarely any girls under agreement even for so long as a year. In most branches a girl "picks up" her training from those near her. Special arrangements are made for teaching ironing. The commonest system is to pay a skilled ironer to teach the learner working next to her or to let her have everything the learner earns for a fixed period. Three firms have a special "ironing school," with a competent teacher. Frequently the forewoman or the manageress is responsible for teaching the girls.

Very few of the managers had had experience to enable them to judge of the effect of trade-school training.

Special circumstances of the trade. The prevalent custom of sending soiled linen to the laundry at the beginning of the week and of expecting it back again within six days has been responsible for many of the drawbacks to this industry from the point of view of those interested in the employment of young persons. It necessitated unemployment part of the week and unduly long employment on other days, with the result that it was mainly carried on by older women with the strength to work very long hours at a time, and with domestic claims upon them which made them prefer to be unemployed two or three days a week.

The establishment of steam laundries and the steady increase in work for hotels much less affected by domestic customs, created a demand for young persons, a daily supply of work from customers and a justification for regulation of

hours by law. But laundries are only slowly coming into line with other factories, and married women still form a large proportion of those employed. The Home Office report as to the "Marriage state of Women over 18" in 1907 based on voluntary returns from employers, shows the marked contrast between the laundry industry and other industries in this respect.

Percentage of women over eighteen

	<i>Unmarried</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>Widowed</i>	<i>Total</i>
In—				
Steam laundries.	64.2	28.1	7.7	100
Other non-textile factories. .	81.4	14.7	3.9	100
Hand laundries.	33.0	51.9	15.1	100
Other workshops.	85.6	10.7	3.7	100

The results of this employment of married women obliged to work excessively long hours on certain days in the week have left their traces on the industry, which is often still regarded as only suitable for a rough class of young girl.

Advantages and disadvantages. Great care is needed in placing a girl in a laundry. In the abstract the industry has much to recommend it. It is inconceivable that the demand for labor should not steadily increase as cleanliness increases amongst the population. Employment is constant. The heavy parts of the work are now done in the wash-house with the aid of machinery worked by men. Factory inspection secures safeguards from excessive heat or moisture. A girl having learned ironing at a laundry finds her skill useful in after life, and has a trade to which she can always resort when the need arises. As a packer and sorter she develops intelligence and powers of management, and her money wages could be much higher than is customary at present if she brought to her work a better education than is customary in the trade.

The disadvantages at present existing are numerous. The hours permitted by law, which are not usually worked in the

trades previously reported on, are frequently worked by young persons in laundries and are far too long. Young persons employed on calender work frequently never pass on to a more skilled and more remunerative branch. The tone of the laundry frequently leaves much to be desired.

Every one of these disadvantages can be obviated by care on the part of parents and guardians placing girls and of superintendents of laundries.

V

MATERIAL USED FOR VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE BY THE GRAND RAPIDS (MICH.) JUNIOR AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH GRADES

THE vocational guidance work of the seventh and eighth grades is taught in connection with English grammar and geography, for all of the exercises are composition, either oral or written. They cover such subjects as occupations, simple biography, and the value of an education. The pupil is not marked on how much he knows of these, but on how well he tells what he knows. All the exercises have proved of interest to the pupils, and have filled a long-felt want among teachers of composition, because the subjects seem to be vital and enlarge the horizons of the class. The study of some occupations is less likely to interest the girls.

A few general subjects under the study of occupations are the following: 1. The study of a home occupation. 2. This occupation compared with the same occupation in foreign countries. 3. The account of a trip through some manufacturing plant, office, building, or store.

Sample exercise: —

The comparative study of an occupation

1. In what foreign countries can this occupation be found?
2. How does the occupation in these other foreign countries differ from it as I know it?
3. Where should I especially like to live to follow it? Why?
 - a. Is the country healthier?
 - b. Does the country give me more opportunity to expand my occupation?

A few subjects under the study of biography are these: 1. The life of a successful celebrated person. (This should be read to the class by the teacher.) 2. The life of a successful person that the pupil knows. 3. The life of the pupil himself.

Sample exercise:—

The life of a successful person

1. When and where did —— live?
2. What work did he do?
3. What was the most important point in his life?
4. What pleasures did he have?
5. What made his work successful?
6. Did he render service to his fellow-men?
7. Did he live by any law, or motto, or aim of his own?
What was his guide (law, motto, aim) and was it a good one or not? Why?

Sample subjects that may follow the pupil's life are as follows: 1. How I earned my first money. 2. How I spend my Saturdays. 3. My first real work.

To show the value of an education, the following subjects are good: 1. A talk by some young person who has returned to school after being out for a period, on "Why I Left School" or "Why I Came Back to School." 2. What people I know say about the value of an education. 3. What I could do if I left school now. 4. What other young people have done who have left school at the end of the eighth grade. 5. Wages of eighth-grade graduates as compared with the wages of high-school graduates. 6. What a family has done. (This is taken from an article in the *Outlook* of August 26, 1911.) 7. My high-school course.

NINTH GRADE

In the ninth grade, the study becomes personal, and enters into more elaborate biography. Perhaps the first exercises will be as follows:—

My ancestors: Where they came from. Why they came to this country. Whether or not they had to contend with hardships. What they have done here.

My parents: Early life. Hardships. Occupation, its difficulties and advantages. What they have done for their children?

Myself: My childhood; my school life; any uncommon good fortune, or bad, that has befallen me; my pleasures, favorite studies; my ambitions; my health, etc.

These essays will serve not only to draw the pupil out and secure natural expression, but also to establish a personal and intimate relation between pupil and teacher. The teacher should hold the information gained in this way as a privileged communication. The school spirit of the pupil may be transformed by it.

Morals and Manners can well be added to this in a series of essays, in which, with the true spirit of comedy, the undesirable is shown its own image in the glass of nature. Monologues and dialogues give a fit form. The subjects are inexhaustible; presenting the person with bad manners, (1) *In the Street Car*. (2) *At the Theater*. (3) *On the Playground*. (4) *Buying a Hat*. (5) *Telling a Fish Story*. (6) *Gossiping with a Neighbor*. The healthy humor of the mimicry does much to make the class one.

Health and Hygiene also adds a stimulating subject for composition as well as for better living among the children.

Some of the subjects given are: *The Value of Open-Air Life; Exercise; Proper Amount of Sleep; Food Values; Bathing; Neatness of Person*.

Among the biographies most useful in this grade are those of Helen Keller, Jacob Riis, Booker T. Washington, Phillips Brooks, Jane Addams, Alice Freeman Palmer, Mary Lyon, Thomas Edison, etc. An essential element is that the success was often attained without advantage at the start of life. Most of this work is oral.

TENTH GRADE

In the tenth grade, a great number of occupations are listed at the suggestion of the class, perhaps because members have some special opportunity for knowing them; then each pupil presents one orally or in written composition;

helped in his preparation by means of an outline. A part of this offers opportunity to do some research work. One girl listed three hundred and fifty occupations for women, and the salaries paid each. Her method was to take the lists of the telephone directory and call up the people whose names she found. Then she asked what she wanted to know. Ingenuity will invent other methods. Others obtained their facts from relatives or friends who knew the occupation.

Suggested outline

The vocation: 1. Its character, its present status, its future, its healthfulness, the kind of life it compels as to hours and other conditions, its effect upon one's personal development, its opportunity for service to the community. 2. The preparation necessary for entering the vocation (general requirements, natural ability or skill, education, special training), the means of entering it (apprenticeship, working up, schooling, local chances of an opening). 3. Sidelights on the vocation (opinions of those in it at present, statistical reports, laws affecting the vocation, periodicals and books discussing it, personal observation).

In the second half of this year some of the pupils will be ready to study some occupation that they expect to enter. Those who have no definite occupation in mind will choose one under the guidance of the teacher that has some special interest in him. An outline can be given by the teacher to aid the pupil in his investigations.

My own vocation: 1. Origin or history. 2. Modern conditions (as in preceding outline). 3. Good points and bad points (degree of independence, permanence, importance, remuneration, — money or pleasure in the work itself or in social returns). 4. How to enter it (preparation, cost, length of time for study). 5. Characteristics necessary for success.

This last will require self-analysis of a limited kind, as well as analysis of men in the occupation, and should be strictly confidential. Here it may be possible to save some one who habitually fails in mathematics from entering engineering

because a hero or relative has succeeded in it, or because father or mother are ambitious that he shall succeed in it.

ELEVENTH GRADE

Now that vocations have been considered, the preparation becomes important, and schools and colleges may be studied. There are various kinds to consider, among which are the industrious, professional, and purely literary; art schools, manual training schools, schools for physical training, etc. Each pupil should take a special interest in some school and look it up through its catalogues and by interviews with graduates, and compare with other schools of the same kind. The small colleges *versus* the large, the co-education *versus* the separate schools for men and women, Eastern colleges *versus* Western, native *versus* foreign; all of these are good subjects for discussion and debate. The ideals of the colleges and the condition of student life there are soon to be valuable to them, as well as the value of a college education. The subjects required for college entrance, and other conditions must be ascertained, and pupils' own programs inspected to see whether their work is properly mapped out.

In the second half of this year the ethics of the vocations are considered. Girls who are not going to college and have no special choice study problems of domestic life; the relation of mistress and servant, of expenditure, of gossip, of treatment of clerks, in the stores, proper dress, and buying good or cheap articles in providing their household supplies. Those who have no definite plans consider the moral codes of the professions, and business life. The subject is inexhaustible. The ethics that inspired the founders of the Consumers' League, Anti-Saloon League, and other leagues for the betterment of social conditions are debated here.

TWELFTH GRADE

When the occupations of the business and professional world have been studied, to which most men devote their lives and by which they earn their living, it is well to single

out for special study those which are distinguished as supported by and for the people because they are necessary for the public well-being and the betterment of society. Soon most of the pupils in this grade will be earning their own living, and paying either by taxes or by gift for the maintenance of public institutions.

Public institutions maintained by subscription will supply subjects for the first half-year, and those maintained by taxes for the second. The result of the first year's study must be a growth in public spirit, a willingness to give support by seeking occupation in one of the institutions, by contributing in money and kind, or by the aid of a vote or sympathy. *Each for All* is the unconscious teaching, and a return to the state and society for benefits received. When they are asked, "What institutions does the state maintain for its people, opening occupations to some of its citizens?" the class will readily suggest a long list, beginning with the Police Department and ending with the Army and Navy. In ten minutes the list will contain more institutions than are sufficient to supply subjects for the individuals of the class. It will include the Board of Health, City Hospitals, Fire Commission, Water Supply, Weather Bureau, — an indefinite list. This is swelled by the institutions the state charters and in a fashion directs, such as Insurance Companies, Railroads, Trusts, etc. These subjects are excellent to exercise the pupil in research work; he has now reached a stage where it is well for him to collect and organize a large body of facts independently. His material will be obtained from the reference library, by personal visits for inspection of the institutions studied and interviews with the officials, or by any other means that ingenuity can devise. The organization of this body of material and writing of a manuscript in the best possible form, with footnotes, a bibliography, and an outline, this is a labor to stimulate the pupil to his highest effort.

Among the institutions supported by contributions are Churches, Charities and Corrections, Associations of Commerce, Historical Societies, Musical Societies, Women's Clubs, Art Leagues, Lodges, Consumers' Leagues, Anti-

Saloon League, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Red-Cross Society, Anti-Tuberculosis Society, etc. A final report to the class by each pupil of the main points made in his essay is a revelation of the value of this work to the younger people.

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OUTLINE

THE CHOICE OF LIFE-WORK AND ITS DIFFICULTIES

1. A suggestion from Franklin's Autobiography	1
2. Haphazard start in life	1
3. Changed conditions	1
4. The new specialization of labor	2
5. The efficiency engineer	2
6. The adolescent crisis	2
7. Young work-seekers	3
8. What vocational choice involves	4
9. Play and vocation	4
10. Tenement children	5
11. The home and the life-career	6
12. What one counselor has done	7
13. An East Side librarian	7
14. The problem of vocational guidance	8

THE WASTEFUL START AND INEFFICIENCY

1. England's experience	9
2. The future for the boys	9
3. Reports of the Royal Commission on the Poor-Laws	10
4. Other testimony	10
5. "Blind-alley" children	12
6. American experience	13
7. Some Boston testimony	14
8. Studies by the University of Chicago Settlement	16
9. United States Government investigation	17
10. Why children leave school for work	18
11. Job hoboes	18
12. The unemployables	21
13. The problem of vocational education	22
14. New demands upon the public schools	23
15. The problem of vocational guidance	23
16. Far-reaching social program	24
17. Current vocational influences	25
18. The aim of vocational guidance	26

EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

1. President Emeritus Eliot on the "Life-Career Motive"	27
2. Choice of further training	28
3. Educational guidance	28
4. Two illustrations	29
5. Beginnings in vocational guidance	30
6. Pioneer work of Professor Frank Parsons	31
7. The Vocation Bureau	31
8. Work with the Boston schools	32
9. Report of the Committee on Vocational Direction	34
10. The activities of the Vocation Bureau of Boston	39
11. The employer's relation to vocational guidance	47

THE ORGANIZATION OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

1. Vocational counseling — the new profession	50
2. First steps	51
3. Preliminary survey	51
4. Suggestion from Cincinnati	52
5. The Newton Plan	53
6. Suggestions for procedure	55
7. Selection of director	56
8. The counselor in action	57
9. The Henry Street Vocational Scholarship Committee	57
10. Psychological tests in vocational guidance	60
11. Use of local resources	63
12. Ambition and aptitude	64
13. Vocational literature	64
14. Training vocational counselors	87
15. Guidance and employment	89
16. Exploiting vocational guidance	89
17. At what age should guidance begin?	90
18. The vocational decision	91
19. Cautions in vocational guidance	92
20. Principles of vocational guidance	93
21. Summary of the dangers	94

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN GERMANY

1. Local factors	95
2. Guidance and the German schools	96
3. Parents' consultation hours	97
4. Predetermined occupation	98

5. Changing industrial conditions	99
6. Vocational guidance efforts	101
7. Work in Halle	102
8. German labor bureaus	105
9. Vocational guidance policies	107

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

1. Two basic acts	109
2. Memorandum of coöperation between labor exchanges and the schools	111
3. Methods of carrying out the schemes	116
4. Volunteer advisory committees	118
5. London	120
6. Work of local committees	121
7. The employment of children	124
8. Details of help to minors	124
9. Birmingham	127
10. School care committees	128
11. Further education	129
12. The "helper's" notebook	133
13. Edinburgh	137
14. Circulars to parents and children	138
15. Regulations pertaining to the work in Edinburgh	145

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE AND HEALTH GUIDANCE

1. Essentials in employment schemes	148
2. Necessity of legislative control	148
3. The Minority Report	149
4. Future of unskilled labor	150
5. Needs of "blind-alley" children	151
6. Medical inspection	151
7. The Dewsbury experiment	153
8. The physician and the start in life	157

THE SCHOOL AND THE START IN LIFE

1. The keynote of service	158
2. Outline of policy for schools in relation to employment	159
3. Research and social vision	160
4. The problem before the schools	162
5. The basis of employment	163
6. School and occupation	163

OUTLINE

271

7. Supervised work-seeking 166
8. Adolescent employment 167
9. Vocational help bureaus 168

THE SOCIAL GAIN THROUGH VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

1. The "one talent" 171
2. Evolution of the vocations 172
3. New avenues of service 172
4. An example of vocational guidance 173
5. Social interdependence of vocations 173
6. The ideal of the work-career 175
7. The challenge to the occupations 176
8. Ideals of vocational guidance 176

SUGGESTIVE MATERIAL

1. Schedules and Questionnaires 179-206
2. Records of a Boston School Vocational Counselor . . . 207
3. Specimens of talks given before the Boston Vocational Counselors 217
4. Examples of occupational study, for the use of the London Juvenile Labor Exchanges 244
5. Material used for vocational guidance by the Grand Rapids, Michigan, Junior and Senior High Schools 255

INDEX

- Adolescence, 3.
- Advisory committees, English, 118.
- Alliance Employment Bureau, 59.
- Apprenticeship, 150.

- Berlin Labor Bureau, 104.
- Beveridge, W. H., 165.
- Birmingham, 127.
- Blind alley, 12.
- Blind-alley occupations, 10.
- Board of Trade, 110.
- Boston School Committee, 32.
- Boston school-teachers, 13.
- Boston specialty store, 2.
- Boston Vocation Bureau, 39.

- Choice, like play, 4.
- Choice of life-work, 4.
- Choosing a Vocation*, Parsons, 32.
- Cincinnati, Charting Childhood in, 51.
- Civic Service House, 30.
- Committee on the Place of Industries, etc., 27.
- Comparative wages chart, 61.
- Complicated social order, 1.
- Consultative committee, 11.
- Critical period of working life, 1.
- Crowded district, 5.
- Cul-de-sac*, 12.

- Dead-end occupations, 21.
- Decision, vocational, 91.
- Democracy, 6.
- Department store diagram, 80, 81, 84, 85, 86.

- Dewsbury, 116.
- Dewsbury factory surgeon, 154.

- East Side Library, 7.
- Edinburgh, 137.
- Edinburgh School Board circulars, 139.
- Educational guidance, 23.
- Efficiency engineer, 2.
- Eliot, President, 27.
- Employment Managers' Association, 48.

- Follow-up work, 26.
- Foreign-born, 6.
- Fourteen-year-old children, 1.
- Franklin, Benjamin, 1.

- Game of "Trades," 4.
- Germany, vocational guidance in, 95.
- Gordon, Mrs. Ogilvie, 64, 137.
- Guidance, 12, 25.

- Halle Statistical Bureau, 97.
- Hanus, Prof. Paul H., 90.
- Health guidance, 157.
- Helper's notebook, 134-136.
- Henry St. Settlement vocational scholarships committee, 57.
- High School of Commerce, 29.
- High School of Practical Arts, 29.
- Higher training schools, 3.

- Industrial education commissions in Mass., 18.
- Informed choice, 3.
- Intelligent forethought, 4.

Investigation in Boston, 14.
Italians, 7.

Jackson, Cyril, 11.
Job-jungle, 21.

Kindergarten teacher, 4.

Labor Exchanges Act, 109.
Laisses-faire attitude, 8.
Life-career motive, 90.
London, 120.
London County Council, 121.
London elementary schools, 11.

Majority report, 9.
Marshall, 6.
Massachusetts State Board of
Health, 7.
Medical officer, 153.
Medical supervision, 155.
Memorandum, joint, 110.
Minority report, 10.
Minute division of labor, 2.
Modern education, 22.
Münich, 101.
Münich Labor Bureau, 106.

National Education Association,
27.

Newton educational and voca-
tional guidance department,
53.

Occupational world, 164.

Parents' consultation hours, 97.
Parsons, Prof. Frank, 31.
Preventive medicine, 172.
"Process" workers, 22.
Psychological tests, 60.

Report of Boston teacher's com-
mittee, 34.
Research, 158.
Royal Commission on the Poor
Laws, 9.

Sadler, Prof. Michael E., 10.
Schooling, choice of further, 28.
Scotland, 117.
Seashore, Prof. Carl, 62.
Social organization, 164.
Specialization, 2.
Strassburg, 105.
Summary of causes for children
leaving school, 19.
Systematic life-work counseling,
21.

Tempting wages, 21.
Tenement home, 5.
Thorndike, Prof. E. L., 60.
Typical employment record, 20.

Unemployables, 21.
United Kingdom, 152.

Vocation Bureau, Civic Service
House, 31.
Vocational anarchy, 3.
Vocational education, 23.
Vocational guidance movement,
23.
Vocational help bureau, 170.
Vocational movements, 24.
Vocational service, 160.
Vocations for Boston Boys, stud-
ies in, 65.

Wolff, Dr., 97.
Woman and child wage earners
in the United States, 17.

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